DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 119 456 FL 004 790

AUTHOR Clark, Carolyn Louise
TITLE Black Dialect and Elementary Reading Texts: A Linguistic Analysis of Three Basal Series.
PUB DATE 73
NOTE 95p.; M.A. Thesis, University of Washington

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$4.67 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS *Basic Reading; Beginning Reading; Elementary Education; Instructional Materials; Literature Reviews; Low Achievers; Morphology (Languages); Negro Achievement; Negro Culture; *Negro Dialects; Phonology; Reading Achievement; *Reading Instruction; Reading Materials; Syntax; *Teaching Methods; *Textbook Evaluation
IDENTIFIERS *Black English

ABSTRACT

Children who speak the black dialect usually are low classroom achievers. Teachers must understand differences between Black English (BE) and the reading text. This paper shows how black children experience difficulties with reading programs. Three basal reading series are analyzed. Initial Teaching Alphabet - phonics; Scientific Research Associates - spelling patterns; and Scott Foresman - look-say. Reading comprehension involves external cues, cues within words, cues in the flow of language and cues within the reader. There is abundant evidence that a reading program succeeds as it relates to students' language habits. The phonology, morphology and syntax of BE are analyzed here. The three methods of teaching reading are analyzed, and the Initial Teaching Alphabet method is seen as least valid for teaching black children because of its phonological inconsistencies. It attempts to set up a correspondence between phonetic and orthographic segments of English, without providing for language cues outside this correspondence. The SRA method emphasizes mastery of sound-symbol correspondence, and many exercises require phonetic distinctions not in the black dialect. The Scott Foresman series uses all reading cues and emphasizes comprehension while allowing linguistic freedom. Whichever system is used, teacher skills, attitudes and dialect understanding are crucial to black reading success. (CHK)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRO
DUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM
THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGIN
ATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS
STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRE
SENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ED119456

BLACK DIALECT AND ELEMENTARY READING TEXTS: A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THREE BASAL SERIES

by

Carolyn Louise Clark

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

1973

FL009790

Approved by Philip S Dale

(Chairman of Supervisory Committee)

Department Linguistics

(Departmental Faculty sponsoring candidate)

Date August 15, 1973

Master's Thesis

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirement for a master's degree at the University of Washington, I agree that the Library shall make its copies freely available for inspection, I further agree that extensive copying of this thesis is allowable only for scholarly purposes. It is understood, however, that any copying or publication of this thesis for commercial purposes, or for financial gain, shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Signature Carolyn L. Clark

Date August 15, 1973

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Carolyn Louise Clark

TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Quote Slip	i
Table of Contents	ii
Explanation of Symbols	iv
Introduction	1
Chapter I: Theories of Reading	3
Chapter II: Review of the Literature: Description of Black English	10
I. Phonology	11
II. Morphology	18
III. Syntax	23
IV. Summary	29
Chapter III: Analysis of Methods for Teaching Reading	30
Analysis of i/t/a	31
i/t/a and Black English	37
I. i/t/a Phonology	37
II. i/t/a Morphology	41
III. i/t/a Syntax	46
i/t/a Summary	48
Analysis of SRA Basic Reading Series	51
SRA and Black English	55
I. SRA Phonology	55
II. SRA Morphology	58
III. SRA Syntax	61
SRA Summary	64
Analysis of Scott Foresman	66
Scott Foresman and Black English	68
I. Scott Foresman Phonology	68
II. Scott Foresman Morphology	71
III. Scott Foresman Syntax	75
Scott Foresman Summary	76

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont)

	Page
Chapter IV: Conclusions	79
Bibliography	87

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

SE	Standard English
BE	Black English dialect
V	vowel
C	consonant
~	alternates with
/ /	encloses a phonemic representation
[ ]	encloses a phonetic representation
< >	encloses words or letters written in i/t/a orthographic symbols
:	indicates phonetic lengthening of a vowel
*	indicates an ungrammatical utterance
→	In standard linguistic notation, an arrow means "is rewritten as" (X → Y). Due to the variable nature of BE usage, however, it must be assigned a conditional rather than an absolute meaning in this paper. X → Y should be read, "for some speakers, X may be rewritten as Y."
-	is also conditional; read as "may equal."
#	word boundary

INTRODUCTION

The majority of children who speak the black dialect turn out to be low achievers in the classroom. In the typical United States public school, social and cultural factors appear to exert a great deal of influence on the child's probability of success. In addition, research has shown that in the case of low achievers there is a direct relationship between the child's success in his task of learning to read, and the similarity of the linguistic structures used in the text to his own oral patterns. (Strickland, 1962; Ruddell, 1965; Bormuth, 1966.) Unforturnately, the language used in basal reading texts is even less similar to the oral patterns of the black child than the white child. The discrepancies between the written and spoken forms that the black child must deal with introduce one more educational disadvantage where there are already too many. In order to be more effective in helping the children overcome these handicaps, the teacher must understand the differences between Black English (BE) and the reading text. The characteristics of BE have been set forth and analyzed by many linguists. Now this information should be utilized in evaluating the programs of reading instruction used in public schools.

The aim of this paper is to point out to the teacher where he or she might expect black children to experience difficulties with the particular program used. I have analyzed three basal reading series which are used in public schools. The analysis takes into account the internal inconsistencies of the programs as well as those points which present difficulties for the lack child. The three systems which I have chosen are intended to represent three alternative approaches to reading instruction. 1) Initial Teaching

Alphabet - phonics 2) Scientific Research Associates - spelling patterns 3) Scott Foresman - look-say. A summary of various theoretical views on reading and how these relate to the black child is also included.

Chapter 1

THEORIES OF READING

Reading specialists hold different views on what is involved in learning to read. Some are of the opinion that this task is simply one of letter and word identification. Success is judged by the student's ability to say the words correctly. But successful identification of words does not ensure comprehension, which is, after all, the aim of all reading. ("Comprehension" as it is used here refers to grasping the literal meaning of a passage, rather than to attaining higher-level cognitive processes, such as the ability to distinguish fact from opinion. Comprehension can be assessed by the student's ability to paraphrase the contents, to answer questions about the passage, and by the relative quality of his oral interpretation - tone, inflection, phrasing.) Comprehension can even take place without word identification, as in speed reading. Most current theories claim that the mature reader proceeds directly from the graphic cues to meaning, and only reverts to the sound-symbol relationship when he is presented with difficult or unfamiliar material. (See Athey, 1971 for a fuller discussion.) Identification is probably necessary in the learning stages, but the ability to identify letters and words correctly is not alone sufficient for successful reading. If identification plays only a minor role in reading, it is important to teach children how to bypass letter discrimination and word identification, yet still derive the correct meaning.

Comprehension involves a great deal more than just phonetics or total-word recognition. The use of many language cues is necessary for extracting

meaning from the written representation. A sentence is not merely the sum of its parts. At least four types of cue systems are used:

1. External cues: Pictures, prompting, and charts help the child when he is learning to read.

2. Cues within words: These include phonetic generalizations (letter-sound relationships), visual shape as a memory cue, spelling patterns, derivational affixes, and the recognition of whole words and smaller words within words.

3. Cues in the flow of language: These include inflection, intonation (stress, pitch, and juncture), function words, contextual meaning, and redundancy. Redundant information is that which is present, but is not necessary to processing the material. For example, if the first word of a sentence is a personal pronoun in the nominative case, the next word is normally a verb. Understanding and using cues of redundancy simplifies the reader's task. It enables him to make predictions about the material he will be reading by reducing the number of possible alternatives. Goodman states that the child "uses knowledge of the grammatical constraints of language and familiarity with meanings of words and the frequencies of their occurrence in particular groupings to reduce probable alternatives of what follows next in the passage." (Athey, 1971, page 94.) In the early stages readers depend heavily on verbal context, meaning, and especially syntax, rather than just the graphic representation. (Weber, 1967.)

4. Cues within the reader: The reader must transfer his previous knowledge of language to the task of reading in order to use these redundancy cues. This is easier if the written material is similar to his own oral language. "The more divergence there is between the dialect of the learner and the dialect of learning, the more difficult will be the task of learning to read." (Goodman, 1965, page 853.)

Evidence in support of this hypothesis that a reading program is successful in proportion to its use of the language habits of the student is abundant. Frank Smith discusses this idea in Understanding Reading (1971). "Knowledge of redundancy...reduces the amount of visual information required to read...and greater comprehension can be gained from the same number of visual features if syntactic and semantic sequential redundancy can be applied." (page 201) Strickland (1962) found that a positive relationship does exist between children's use of oral language in its similarity to the language of reading texts and the quality of the children's reading. She based her work on a structural analysis of the linguistic patterns used most frequently by grade-school children. Using the same information Ruddell (1965) also tested the hypothesis that a similarity between oral and written syntactic patterns really does influence the readability of written materials. He reported that "reading comprehension scores on materials that utilize high-frequency patterns of oral language structure are significantly greater than reading comprehension scores over materials that utilize low frequency patterns of oral language structure." (page 408) He also concluded that "reading comprehension is a function of the similarity of patterns of language structure in the reading material to oral patterns of language structure used by children." (page 408) In addition, Ruddell found that the occupational status of the father, the educational background of the parents, and the intelligence, mental age, and chronological age of the subjects are significantly related to reading comprehension on materials which used low and high frequency patterns of oral language structure. In a similar, though not as well-executed investigation, Bormuth (1966) also found a relation between comprehension difficulty and similarity of materials for children at low achievement levels, "that is,

for children who have reading difficulties, an increased similarity of the language in the reading material to their own language patterns increased comprehension." (page 125)

Reading difficulty may be defined as a mismatch between the child's response and the appropriate one. According to this view, the child would read adequately if the material were consistent with his own behavior pattern. "An example of a mismatch is when auditorally and visually presented languages are discrepant, as might be the case for a lower-class child who speaks a neighborhood 'slang'. The child may not be able to elaborate the cues in 'formal language patterns'. He does not read well because he does not draw from the same language experience as does the middle-class child for whom a typical reading selection is written; there is a mismatch between reading material and his typical pattern of responding. If, however, the material were presented in the same form as his spoken language, we postulate that he would be able to read more accurately." (Wiener and Cromer, 1967, page 630)

Which differences between the dialect of the child and the language of the written text are most significant in relation to reading difficulty? Lexical (vocabulary) differences are the most obvious, but probably the least significant. It is a fairly easy task to learn new vocabulary and plug it into the appropriate spots. Labov (1972, page 11) lists some examples:

Black	White
Hit him upside the head.	Hit him in the head.
The rock say "Shhh!"	The rock went "Shhh!"
I'm a shoot you.	I'm g'na shoot you.
I wanna be a police.	I wanna be a policeman.
Ah "on" know.	I d'know.

Must a child be able to produce a linguistic form in order to comprehend it? This question has not yet been answered. Linguistic theory claims that

phonetic differences are detected only when they are contrastive. A corollary of this claim may be that "one cannot hear distinctions that one does not oneself make...The rules that a child acquires for constructing and pronouncing his language are also the rules that he uses for interpreting (and actually hearing) the language of others." (Smith, 1971, page 55) "A child from a lower-class background..may not 'say' the words in the same way or in the same sequence as his middle-class teacher; and therefore, if he makes his transformations into the teacher's language, comprehension may not occur." (Wiener and Cromer, 1967, page 639)

But it has not been proven that ability to produce and perceive phonetic distinctions affects reading comprehension. Paul Melmed (1970) tested third grade children for auditory discrimination, oral reading comprehension, BE phonology usage, and silent reading comprehension in five categories of phonological differences: r'lessness, l'lessness, simplification of consonant clusters, weakening of final consonants, and vowel variations. Results for three different racial groups, black, white and "others", were compared. Melmed found that black children do produce some word pairs as homonyms which are differentiated in the speech of the white and other subjects. In speech perception, black subjects also had difficulty discriminating these word pairs. They revealed, however, "no inability to comprehend the written word pairs while reading." (page 73)

Labov reaches a similar conclusion. He found that speakers who pronounced the -ed suffix frequently did not understand its function as the marker of a past tense form any better than speakers who seldom pronounced the ending. (Levin and Williams, 1969, pages 222 - 245.)

Although a definite conclusion cannot yet be drawn, the majority of

evidence favors the hypothesis that production of phonetic and syntactic forms is not necessary for comprehension.

If perception is not a prerequisite to comprehension, the black child will be confused only when he is forced to pronounce a sound that is not represented in his dialect. In any case, teachers should be aware of the phonetic differences so they will not confuse reading errors with pronunciation differences.

A lack of correspondence between oral and written syntax may especially cause difficulty for the black child. For instance, "note how difficult it is to read and comprehend the following passage, which is a description of Harlem. 'Everyone shouting and screaming and nobody care about what they is going on. But at least it somewhere to stay away from when they make you go.'" (Wiener and Cromer, 1967, page 639) The question of the relationship between production and comprehension is relevant to syntactic as well as phonetic forms. Troike (in Abrahams and Troike, 1972, page 308) reports that repetition tests have shown black children are often able to comprehend SE patterns that they do not produce. (A child is considered to understand a sentence if he can paraphrase it correctly in his own dialect.) Certain structures, however, seemed particularly difficult for them to comprehend. First-graders were not able to repeat sentences with "both", such as: "John and Bill both have their shoes on." Most of the teenagers tested did understand sentences with "if": "I don't know if he can come." often re-encoding it into BE: "I don't know can he come." But parallel sentences in which "whether" was substituted for "if" were often not comprehended.

The relative importance of phonological and syntactic differences depends partially on the emphasis placed by the reading method on word and letter identification as opposed to total comprehension. "Phonic" and

"linguistic" methods, stressing "cracking the code" of sound-symbol relationships as the primary factor in reading, value the mastery of phonology and correct oral reading as the most important step. Considered from such a viewpoint, phonetic differences are extremely significant. But a precise reproduction of the middle-class pronunciation may not be necessary for correct reading (i.e., comprehension).

Syntactic differences are considered most significant by those who base their reading curricula on the use of contextual cues for comprehension. Labov suggests that the most critical points are those in which "large-scale phonological differences coincide with important grammatical differences." (1972, page 12) Those "errors" which merely involve pronunciation differences are not as significant (such as the deletion of "s" in word-final consonant clusters). He gives examples of some differences which may be more significant factors in causing reading problems. These differences are not always the most obvious ones:

BE	SE
He pass him yesterday.	He passed him yesterday.
Give him they book.	Give him their book.
This you-all place?	This your place?
Thas Nick boy.	That's Nick's boy.
He say, Ca'ol is.	He says, Carol is.
My name is Boo'.	My name is Boot.

(See Labov, 1972, page 11, for a more detailed account with phonetic transcription.) In these examples, the systematic phonological rules of BE interact with grammatical constructions, resulting in major differences. Such variations occur in the following forms: the possessive morpheme, contractions of the future auxiliary "will", contracted copula, the regular past tense suffix, and the third person singular verb suffix. Chapter II includes a more detailed discussion of these differences.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: DESCRIPTION OF BLACK ENGLISH

This chapter presents an overview of the major distinguishing features of Black English (BE) which will be used in analyzing the reading materials (Chapter III). The vernacular a person speaks is probably determined more by his socio-economic condition than by his racial background, but the term BE is used because its forms are prevalent in the speech found in primarily black urban areas. BE does not refer to the language spoken by blacks who have adopted the standard dialect.

BE is a distinct nationwide dialect with its own characteristic linguistic patterns and forms. The usage of these structures is not homogeneous, however, but varies among the communities studied, and among the individual speakers within each community. This paper outlines a number of characteristics which have been described in various recent studies on BE by Anderson (1970), Aurbach, (1970), Baratz in Baratz and Shuy (1969), Dillard (1972), Fasold in Baratz and Shuy (1969), Labov (1972), Shuy in Baratz and Shuy (1969), Stewart in Baratz and Shuy (1969), Troike in Abrahams and Troike (1972), Wolfram (1969) and Fasold and Wolfram (unpublished). Since all of these features are not represented in any one corpus, this overview should be considered as a list of potential linguistic features which may or may not be used by BE speakers. Some patterns appear with greater frequency than others. Labov (1972) has developed "variable rules" describing the effect of specific phonological environments on the frequency of these linguistic processes. Extra-linguistic factors such as socio-economic status, educational background, age, sex, and geographical location are influential in determining a speaker's

idiolect. An individual's speech will also vary according to the formality of the situation in which he is speaking. Wolfram (1969) has analyzed the interaction of phonological and social variables as they affect the speech patterns of blacks.

Many of the aspects in which BE differs from Standard English (SE) are quantitative rather than qualitative. That is, many of these features are also found in informal SE, but they are more frequent or they may appear in a wider range of linguistic environments in BE. "Black children in the school system use language that is quite variable, showing some features of BE and some features of SE." (Labov, 1972, page 41) The common phenomena of "r-lessness" and multiple negation are examples. (See sections IB and IIIB.) BE use of uninflected "be" as a finite verb is a qualitative difference, however. This syntactic pattern for expressing intermittent action is entirely lacking in SE. (See section IIIA1.)

For descriptive purposes, this overview is divided into three categories: Phonology, morphology, and syntax. (In actuality, distinct divisions cannot be drawn among these categories. Many of the features could be included in two or even in all three classifications.) Rules and environments for phonetic variations are described in the section on phonology. The morphology section treats those processes (both phonological and grammatical) which affect the surface forms of individual words, as well as major lexical differences between SE and BE. Syntax deals with larger constructions, of two or more words.

I. Phonology

Phonology is the least consistent feature of BE, with the possible exception of vocabulary. Variations occur both across the dialect and within the idiolect. A number of pronunciation patterns are regional, and others

are determined by an individual's age, sex, and/or socio-economic status. There is even some free variation of phones within similar phonetic environments for individual speakers. Aurbach (1970) reports: "seat/feet"→ [si:] / [fit]; "suit/root"→ [su:] / [rut] in the pronunciation of one informant. Such variations are influenced by situational (social) factors, and the phonetic context of the words within the sentence.

A. Vowels

A general tendency exists for the lengthening and dipthongization of vowels where SE has a glide: "boy" and "time", normally pronounced [boy] and [taym] in SE may become [boah] and [ta:m] in BE. This lengthening and dipthongization is much more frequent before a voiced sound or a pause than before a voiceless sound. Dillard (1972) has noted a low front [a] phoneme in addition to the [ɑ] of 'father'. This vowel is between the [ɑ] and [æ] of SE.

Labov (1972) reports that BE does not make as many distinctions between the quality of vowels as SE does. This results in a far greater number of homonyms in BE. He describes five sets of vowels which are not distinct in BE.

1. [I]~[E]/___ nasal (pin ~ pen)
2. [ij] ~ [ej] /___r and sometimes l (beer ~ bear; peel ~ pail)
3. [uw] ~ [ow] /___r (sure ~ shore)
4. [aj] ~ [aw] ~ [a] (find ~ found ~ fond)
5. [oj] ~ [ɔ], especially before l (oil ~ all)

(Idiosyncratic homonyms are also found in some SE dialects. In the Northwest, "caught" and "cot" are pronounced the same.)

B. Loss of liquids

1. Postvocalic position

The loss of liquids ("r" and "l") in the environment V _____(#)C occurs in the informal speech of many SE speakers. Such deletion is more frequent among speakers in BE, and may occur before a vowel as well as a consonant. (four → fou' in fou' people, fou' apples)

Labov (1972) notes that:

a. Vr → V: {ə} ("r" may be deleted or replaced by a schwa, and the preceding vowel may be lengthened.) "fear" rhymes with "idea"

b. l → {ɤ} ("l" may be deleted or replaced by a back, unrounded glide.) "all" = "awe"

Wolfram (1969), in discussing the post-vocalic "r", hypothesizes that the frequency of its deletion in BE varies according to three contexts. In decreasing order of frequency these are:

1. unstressed syllable (teacher)
2. word final position after a stressed V (car)
3. preceding a C (work)

"R" is deleted more often than "l". "L" deletion is most frequent when the following word begins with a labial (b, m, or w). This often affects future tense forms (Tomorrow I'll bring the things → Tomorrow I bring the things.) See section IIE.

2. Other environments

BE speakers occasionally delete "r" in other environments. It may be absent intervocalically (marry → ma'y; Carol → Ca'l). In a few words, "r" following an initial C may disappear. This occurs when the following V is [o] or [u] (throw → th'ow; through → th'ough), or in an unstressed syllable (protect → p'otect; professor → p'ofessuh). "R" and "l" are always pronounced when they occur in word-initial position.

C. Word Final Consonant Cluster Simplification

One of the most significant and complex characteristics of BE phonology is the simplification of final C clusters (i.e., the deletion of one element of the cluster.) Labov (1972) attributes this process to "two distinct tendencies: (1) a general tendency to reduce clusters of C's at the ends of words to single C's, and (2) a more general process of reducing the amount of information provided after stressed V's, so that the individual final C's are affected as well. (page 15) Only clusters in which either both elements are voiced, or both are voiceless, are affected, with one exception. Wolfram (1969) has observed that in clusters consisting of a non-apical nasal (voiced) and a voiceless stop, the stop is retained, but the nasal vocalized (jump → [jə̃up] ; bank → [bə̃k]); a final voiced stop, however, is often also deleted with a nasalized schwa substituted (friend → [frɛ̃ə̃]).

It is usually the second element of a homogeneous cluster that is dropped. Deletion occurs most frequently when the first element of the cluster is a sibilant. In such a case, any stop consonant following the sibilant may be deleted: [-sp], [-st], and [-sk] → [-sø] . Metathesis may also occur, whereby [-sk] → [-ks] (ask → aks). [-st] in final position sometimes becomes [-sk] (twist → twisk). Where the sibilant is in final position [-ks], [-ts] , [-rts] , [-mz], [-lz] , [-dz], [-nz], it is deleted, unless it represents a contraction of the copula "is" (let's → le's; it's → i's; what's → wha's). The grammatical conditioning of deletion will be discussed further under morphology.

Dental stops are also frequently deleted as the second element of a cluster [-st], [-ft], [-pt], [-nt], [-nd], [-ld], [-zd], [-md] , [-zd], [-vd]. [-t/-d] deletions occur rather frequently in informal SE, as well as in BE. The context is more restricted for SE, however. The SE deletion

occurs almost exclusively before C's: t→ ϕ /s_____+C. (West side→ [wEsayd]) In BE, deletion may occur in any environment (West Indies → [wEsIndIyz]). Because of the unrestricted nature of this deletion, the question has been raised as to whether the absence of the stops is, in essence, a matter of phonetic deletion, or whether the stop is absent in the underlying representation of words in BE (i.e., is there an essential difference in the SE and BE lexicons?). Arguing for the absence of stops in the underlying representations of BE, Dillard (1972) cites as evidence the substitution errors of basilect speakers ("basilect" refers to the BE dialect that is farthest removed from SE, and is usually spoken only by very young children). When asked to supply the missing phoneme, the children will often add a [-t] everywhere, resulting in forms such as "dest" for "desk" and "wast" for "wasp." This process is known as overgeneralization, a common occurrence among children as they learn language. In this case, the child notices the generality that many words which end in [-s] in his speech are followed by a [-t] in the speech of others. He may apply a rule of "dental stop addition" in all environments until he has learned the exceptions. Labov (1972) points out that plural forms for "test, desk, and ghost" are most often [tEsəz], [dEsəz], [gowsəz]. This implies that either the deletion must occur before the plural rule is applied, or else the stop is not present in the underlying form. Alternatively, plural forms for some speakers may be [tEs:], [dEs:], [gows:]. This indicates the presence of the stop in the underlying representations because the plural rule must apply before deletion to obtain these forms. Fasold (1969) presents further evidence for the underlying similarities of BE and SE. The stop is realized phonetically in the derivational forms of stems ending in a C cluster (testing, tester, coldest, risky). In these environments, the stop is absent only among a small

group of blacks, mostly Southern children. From this evidence, it appears that for the majority of speakers, the underlying lexical representations are the same in BE and SE.

D. Weakened Final Consonants

Voiced stops are sometimes devoiced in SE when they occur in word final position in an unstressed syllable (salad→ salat; hundred→ hundret). In BE, there are fewer consonantal distinctions and more reduced forms for final C's in stressed syllables as well. This is part of the general tendency of BE toward less information after stressed vowels (Labov, 1972). Consonant weakening is less regular than other phonological processes.

1. Dental stops [-t, -d] are affected most, resulting in "homonyms" such as "seat = seed = see." The words are still phonetically distinguishable, however, because the vowel is lengthened where the final stop was originally voiced. t →{ ɸ / ʔ }/v_____# d→ { t / ɸ / ɾ (unreleased) } /v___#

2. Other stops [-p, -k, -b, -g] undergo a similar process, but less frequently. Fasold and Wolfram (unpublished) find that in final position all voiced C's except nasals [m, n, ŋ], liquids [l, r], and glides [w, y] may be devoiced, but to a much lesser extent than the stops.

3. Nasals [m, n, ŋ] are sometimes deleted at the end of a syllable, and the preceding vowel is nasalized (rum, run, rung→[rə̃]).

4. Some speakers never pronounce [ŋ] in the -ing suffix ([swIməŋ]→ [swIMən]). (Perhaps this is due to a deletion of "g" before nasal assimilation has occurred.)

5. Final [-s, -z] are sometimes deleted. The grammatical effects of this deletion are discussed in the section on morphology.

6. Deletion of liquids in final position is discussed in section IB.

E. Additional Consonant Variables

A variety of further variables has been observed.

1. Dental fricatives [θ, ð] may receive a number of phonetic manifestations.

a. In initial position they often lose their fricative quality: [θ] → [t]. (An alternate pronunciation for [θ] is especially common before "r", where it may be replaced by [f] as well. (three → tree or free.) [ð] → [d] (that → dat).

b. In medial position, they may also become labio-dental fricatives, or they may be deleted:

θ → {f / t/___nasal} (Catholic → Cafolic) (nothing → nut'n

ð → {v / d} (mother → muvuh) (weather → weduh)

occasionally [θ] and [ð] → φ (nothing → nu'n; mother → muh).

c. In final position they most frequently are replaced by the labio-dental fricatives (tooth → toof; smooth → smoove). When preceded by a nasal, [θ] may become [t] or [φ] (month → mont' or mon'). The preposition "with" is sometimes pronounced "wit" or "wid."

2. Initial clusters having "r" as their final element may have the following variations: [str] → [skr] (street → skreet); [ʃr] → [sw, sr, or s] (shrimp → swimp, srimp, simp).

3. [t] and [d] are sometimes deleted in medial, as well as final, position (mantle → man'le; sandwich → san'wich).

4. [v] may be realized as [β] (heavy → heaβy; very → βery)

F. Intonation and Stress

There are some obvious differences between the intonation and stress patterns of BE and SE, such as a greater range of vocal pitch in BE, stress occurring on the initial syllable of some words where SE stresses the second

syllable (police), and greater use of primary stress in general. These are not noted in the orthographic representation of language, however, so they will not be discussed in this paper.

II. Morphology

Many of the morphological characteristics of BE result from phonological or syntactic rules, or the interaction of these rules. Others simply appear to be vocabulary differences.

A. Past Tense

Marking of the past tense is not obligatory in some environments for BE. The verbs "come" and "say" have the same form for simple past as for present (He say it yesterday). The past tense marker which manifests itself phonetically as [-t] or [-d] is frequently obscured by the cluster simplification rule (Yesterday he missed it) and sometimes by the -d deletion rule (Yesterday he play it). Another possible pronunciation stems from the devoicing of the -d suffix (played = playt). The -d suffix is seldom deleted, except for the verbs "start" and "want" (He started crying → He stard crying; He wanted to go → He wanda go). These variations occur in some SE dialects. BE, however, may also delete the final "d", and then the "r" of "stard" (He sta crying). This process applies only to the verb "start."

B. Third Person Singular Verb Suffix

The third person singular verb, present tense, is not obligatorily marked by a -z suffix (realized phonetically as [-s, -z, or -əz]), as it is in SE. (The man walk.) This grammatical rule applies also to the irregular verbs "have" and "do". (He have a bike. What do that mean?) The negative auxiliary does not take a plural suffix, either. (Birdman don't play so good.)

Some BE speakers add a -z suffix to present tense verbs with non-third person singular subjects, and even to infinitive forms. (I walks, you walks, the children walks, they want to goes.) Such forms are called hypercorrections. BE speakers who have come in contact with SE notice the -z suffix, and over-generalize its use.

C. Possessive Suffix

Possessive -z is deleted by many BE speakers. Anderson (1970) has found that possession is usually indicated instead by word order (juxtaposed nouns) with a ˋ ´ stress pattern. (The boy's hat → The bòy hát). In some cases, the possessive suffix is deleted at the end of a clause. (The hat is the boy.) Possessive pronouns are also affected by phonetic deletions. (See IIF.)

D. Noun Plural Suffix

The noun plural suffix -z is occasionally absent, and is entirely lacking for some BE speakers, especially young children who speak southern BE. Dillard (1972) claims that the plural suffix is primarily absent only when the noun is preceded by a quantifier (He took five book; a whole lotta song.) Fasold and Wolfram (unpublished) suggest an alternative explanation to account for some of these cases. They have noticed that several nouns (such as cent, year, movie) are classified as invariable in BE (like sheep in SE). They feel that a large number of these unmarked plurals may be accounted for by a rule deleting the plural suffix with nouns of weight and measurement (inch, pound, year, etc., and monetary terms - cent, dollar, etc., in which the plural suffix is very frequently deleted. An additional -z is often added to nouns which form their plurals in an irregular manner (foots, feets, childrens, peoples, mens).

E. Contractions

Deletion of liquids sometimes causes contracted forms to disappear.

1. The future modal "will", which contracts to 'll in SE, may be deleted in BE. (Tomorrow I'll bring the thing → Tomorrow I bring the thing.) This produces a syntactic form in which the infinitive form of "be" serves as an indicator of future time (He be here in a few minutes). (Section IIIA1). The loss of contracted "l" is most frequent when the following word begins with a labial sound (b, m or w).

2. The contracted form of "are" is frequently deleted in BE, and, a little less frequently, the contracted 's of "is" is deleted. [v] in the contraction "I've" and [z] in "he's" (he has) are often deleted also. These deletions may also occur in some southern white dialects. (Fasold and Wolfram, unpublished).

3. [t] is not pronounced when a pronoun ending in -t is contracted with "is". (That's → tha's). This has sometimes been explained as a deletion of -t. But the cluster simplification rule normally deletes the second element of the cluster. Since this process of -t deletion before contracted 's is regular and categorical, it is believed to occur as the result of a grammatical rule, independent of the cluster simplification rule. The -t assimilates to the 's, and the -z suffix is then eliminated. Thus, it's, that's, what's, let's → is's, thas's, whas's, les's [Iz, ðæz, wɔz, lEz].

F. Pronouns

"R-lessness" causes vocabulary "mergers" with the possessive pronouns "their" and "your." After the deletion rule applies, "thei'" and"you'" are pronounced similarly to "they" and "you". Thus, the possessive forms of the pronouns are no longer distinguishable from the nominative forms (It is they/you book.) Some speakers, especially young children in the South, may also use a nominative or accusative pronoun in attributive possessive constructions

for all personal pronouns (he book, him book, we book, etc.) According to Fasold and Wolfram (unpublished), this feature may be residual influence on BE from the Caribbean Creole dialect. In the absolute possessive construction, -s is sometimes added to "mine" (conforming to the -s ending which appears on the other pronouns: This mines)

Anderson (1970) reports that pronouns joined to another NP by a coordinate conjunction may appear in the objective case, even when the noun phrase functions as grammatical subject. He finds that pronouns are always in the nominative form when there is no conjunction. (...me and this boy was fightin'. I know he can't beat me. When they leave, me and you gonna play.) Such forms occur in the white dialect. But Baratz (1969), reports the following form in BE: Us got to do it.

Other variations in pronoun usage have been observed. Anderson (1970) notes that in BE, as in some white dialects, "hisself" sometimes appears for "himself", and "them" for "these". (Them cards over there is thicker than these.") Dillard reports a lack of sex differentiation in pronouns among some young children. (He a nice little girl.)

G. Prefix Deletion

It is common for initial unstressed syllables of words to be omitted in BE (arithmetic → 'rithmetic; remember → 'member; except → 'cept; about → 'bout). Stewart (1969) reports some hypercorrections with the prefix re-: (divorce → 'vorce → revorce; memorial → 'morial → remorial).

H. Indefinite Article

The indefinite article in BE may often be "a" rather than "an", even when it precedes a vowel (I'm gonna get me a Oriole hat, too.) With a few multi-syllabic words beginning with a vowel pronounced [ə], Anderson (1970) notes that the article may merge with the vowel and disappear (He had eraser).

Elaine Tarone (personal communication) suggests that this may be an instance of prefix deletion (He had a 'raser). Some younger children delete the article in all environments (I have pencil).

I. Expletive "It"

Existential or expletive "there" in SE is often expressed by "it" in BE (When it was a fire - and, he went up there, and it was a little baby in the fire. It was a house on fire and the little baby was in there.)

J. Idiomatic Verb Usages

1. Dillard (1970) reports:

Here are a cat and a dog → Here go (Higo) a cat and a dog.

I'm going to (gonna) eat some candy → Ima eat some candy.

2. Labov points out other forms of gonna with I as subject:

I'ngna go, I'mana go; I'mon go,

and with other subjects: He gon go.

3. The following verbs are sometimes used in a double auxiliary construction: done, liketo, hafta, useta, supposta, better, may, might, must. (I was liketo have got shot. She better had been fair with me. He might could do that.) Labov (1972) points out that the first element of the auxiliary has no tense marker and functions as an adverb.

4. Fasold and Wolfram (unpublished) suggest that the past participle and simple past forms of verbs are the same for BE. Usually the past form is used for both (He came; he have came), but sometimes it is the participle form (He taken it; He have taken it). For some verbs, both forms are possible (He done it; He have done it; He did it; He have did it.)

They observe also that BE speakers often replace the modal auxiliary "can" with "could". (Could you see the girl?)

K. Prepositions

Baratz in Baratz and Shuy (1969) reports that the preposition "at" may be deleted in BE, or replaced by "to" (He is over at his friend's house → He over to his friend house: He teaches at Francis Pool→ He teach Francis Pool.)

L. Conjunctions

Dillard (1972) reports some differences in the use of conjunctions. BE may use the word "time" instead of SE "when" as a subordinating conjunction (I made you a livin', gal, time I was free.) Instead of "either X or Y" and "neither X nor Y", BE speakers often change the order to "X or either Y" and "(It ain') X neither Y."

III. Syntax

A. Verb Forms

1. Invariant "be" (as finite verb)

"Be", as infinitive in SE, often appears as a finite verb in BE, rather than in an inflected form. Uninflected "be" also occurs before a present participle (I always be writin' letters). There are two types of derivations for the uninflected "be".

a. Future and conditional forms "will be" and "would be" can be contracted in SE to "'ll be" and "'d be." BE and some SE dialects can then delete these contractions through the application of phonetic rules (whereby postvocalic "l" may be deleted, especially before labials, and -d may merge with "b" of "be", or be eliminated by the final -d deletion rule) (He be here pretty soon. If you gave him a present he be happy.)

b. "Be" in its other derivational form is peculiar to BE. In this case it serves a distinctive function which is not a part of SE grammar.

Invariant "be" is an a-temporal verb, referring to intermittent actions. It may denote repetition, recurrence, or potential recurrence, often appearing with adverbs such as "never, always, sometimes, every time, usually." (I always be writing letters.) It is never used with a specific time reference, indicated by adverbs such as "right now, once, last night, last week." (BE: I'm writing a letter now, not*I be writing a letter now).

"The standard example is (1) My brother sick, which indicates that the sickness is currently in effect, but of (probably) short-term duration. On the other hand (2) My brother be sick, indicates a long-term illness; the brother may not be expected back in school for a relatively long time." (Dillard, 1972, page 52)

In declarative form, the sentence: "If somebody hit him, Darryl be mad" is three ways ambiguous. It can be either present, future, or conditional in meaning. According to Fasold in Baratz and Shuy (1969), these three meanings of invariant "be" are distinguishable in their negative and interrogative forms, however. For example, the negative auxiliary for the future is "won't" (If somebody hit him, Darryl won't be mad). The conditional negative auxiliary is "wouldn't", (If somebody hit him, Darryl wouldn't be mad) and the negative auxiliary for intermittent "be" is "don't" (If somebody hit him, Darryl don't be mad.)

2. Deletion of the copula:

In cases which do not fall into the above category, the copula "be" is often deleted in the present tense. This can be explained by pronunciation rules. With a first person singular subject in SE, either "am" or "'m" is nearly always present. The remaining forms may all be contracted to "'s" or "'re." Rules governing deletions of these forms in BE are discussed in section IIE2. Where the contracted form does not appear in SE, the copula

is not deleted in BE. SE speakers do not contract at the end of a breath group (There he is), in tag questions (He ain't here, is he?) or when a syntactic element immediately following the verb has been deleted. This may be a zero anaphora (The road's icy now, but it won't be ____ long) or "the empty place left in the surface syntax of a clause when a relativized NP or some similar element is lifted out and transferred to initial position" (I wonder where Gerard is ____ today.) (King 1970, page 135) Grammatical environments in which the copula is deleted are:

a. predicate constructions (nominative, adjective, locative):
   You a bad boy. That dude bad. He at Northwestern.
b. before a present participle:
   He running to school.
c. before future going to (gonna):
   He gonna go.

When subjects "it", "that", or "what" are contracted with "is", an -s sound is usually heard This is not the -s of the copula, however, but involves a process of assimilation. (See section IIE3 for a more detailed description.)

The negative form of the "deletable copula" is "ain't": "You} ain't see it." The past tense copula "was" is never deleted: "You was on this one. We was downstairs." This is another example of verbs being unmarked for number.

3. Perfective Constructions

SE has two perfective tenses. Present perfect is marked by the auxiliary "have" (I have/I've walked.) and past perfect is marked by the auxiliary "had" (I had/I'd walked.). The present tense contractions may be omitted in BE. (I already seen them play. He gone home already). "Had" is not deleted in the past perfect tense, which is used more often by BE speakers than by SE speakers.

BE appears to have two additional perfective constructions, although their use is not widespread. The auxiliary "done" plus the past form of the verb is used to express a completed action (I done forgot what you called it. I done tried hard all I know how.) When the action has taken place in the distant past and continues into the present, "been" is the auxiliary. (I been know your name. I been had it there for about three or four years.) In this context, "been" means "have for a long time" and implies "and do so now." The "done" construction appears in some dialects of SE, but the "been" construction is found only in BE.

The past form of the verb which appears with the auxiliary in the perfective tenses may be a past participle or the simple past tense form (See section IIJ4 for examples).

"Ain't" is often used as the negative auxiliary in all tenses (She didn't/ain't do nothin' to me; I haven't/ain't been doin' much).

B. Multiple Negation

Multiple negation occurs commonly in BE, as well as in other non-standard English dialects. This phenomenon can be accounted for by examining the transformational rules involved, as Fasold and Wolfram (unpublished) have done. SE makes use of three ordered T-rules. The first rule attaches the negative to an indefinite NP if it appears before the main verb (Nobody knows anything). If the first rule is not applicable (because there is no indefinite subject), the second rule applies, negating the verb (He doesn't know anything). If the third rule is applied, the negative marker is moved from the VP to the first indefinite following the VP (He knows nothing). Rules #1 and #2 are disjunctively ordered: (If rule #1 cannot be applied, #2 is applied.) In formal English, rule #3 may be optionally applied to the output of rule #2.

In nonstandard dialects, the negative is not restricted to a single occurrence. Therefore, all rules for which conditions are met (i.e., an environment is present upon which they can act) may be applied simultaneously. The third rule, however, does not merely change the position of the negative marker. The original negative remains, and is additionally copied onto every indefinite in the sentence. This rule is obligatory for some speakers of BE. An example in which all three rules have applied is: Nobody doesn't know nothing about nothing. Although multiple negation is seldom misunderstood, confusion may result when the first two rules are applied simultaneously. (BE: Nobody doesn't know it - SE: Nobody knows it).

Negation can also be expressed by negative adverbs. Formal English allows no other type of negation in a sentence if a negative adverb is present. In informal English, a negative adverb is sometimes used in conjunction with one other type of negative (He doesn't come to see us any more, hardly). Black dialect, and other nonstandard English dialects, may express multiple negation in a sentence containing a negative adverb (scarcely, hardly, never, neither). (e.g., The kids don't hardly come home; The kids hardly never come home.)

When an indefinite NP preceding the VP is negative, the negative form of the verbal auxiliary (can't, wasn't, didn't) is often preposed to initial sentence position (Didn't no dog bit him). Such utterances are distinguished from questions, not by their syntax, but by intonation.

C. Questions

1. Direct questions

In SE, an interrogative pronoun (what, where, when, why, who, how) plus the verbal auxiliary or copula are transferred to the beginning of the sentence to form a content question (The white cat is somewhere → Where is

the white cat?) Some BE speakers do not invert the verb (Where the white cat is?). Other speakers who do invert the verbal element may delete the inverted segment (Where you been?) Yes-no questions are also formed by inversion, and may undergo deletion of the inverted element, as in white English (You understand?)

2. Indirect questions

Indirect questions in SE do not use inverted word order. (I want to know where he went). "If" or "whether" introduces the embedded question in yes-no type questions (I want to know if/whether he went somewhere). Some BE speakers, however, regularly invert embedded questions, and do not use the introductory "if" or "whether" (I want to know where did he go. I want to know did he go somewhere).

D. Embedded Imperative

In an embedded imperative in SE, the verb may be changed to the infinitive form, and the negative marker, if there is one, precedes the infinitive (I told him not to do that). In BE and other nonstandard dialects, the imperative may remain in its original quoted form (I told him don't do that).

E. Pleonastic Pronoun

A common feature of all nonstandard dialects of English, including BE, is the use of a pronoun in an appositive construction with the subject of the sentence (My brother, he bigger than you). In BE, the pronoun may also appear occasionally in the objective or possessive case (That girl name Wanda, I never did like her. Mr. Smith, I got one F in his class one time.)

F. Relative Clause

When a relative clause modifies the object or complement of the main verb, rather than its subject, the relative pronoun may be deleted in BE: That's the boy (who) delivers the paper. The relative pronoun is

sometimes replaced by a pleonastic personal pronoun (I saw the man he did it.).

Summary

Speakers of BE do not make as many spoken phonetic distinctions as speakers of SE. The orthography of SE elementary reading texts is therefore even farther removed from the phonetic output of the black child than it is for white child. Black children deviate significantly from SE norms in both oral and auditory discrimination tests. Although these differences in pronunciation are obvious, they need not be a significant cause of reading errors, since it appears that the underlying representations are the same for both dialects in the majority of cases. The differences are governed by a systematic set of phonological rules. Also, the fact that a black child does not produce SE forms does not necessarily imply that he cannot understand them. If the black child is allowed to use his own grammatical rules on SE materials, he will probably not be confused.

Differences between the written text and the language of the child are more significant when they involve syntactic and morphological patterns. The greatest reading difficulties probably occur where grammatical and phonological differences interact. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV.

Chapter III

ANALYSIS OF METHODS FOR TEACHING READING

There are three basic approaches to reading instruction: the phonics or phonetics method, the "linguistic" or spelling-patterns method, and the Gestalt, or look-say method.

The phonics method is intended to teach the child a systematic series of rules which he uses for identifying the words as he reads. Such a method emphasizes the correspondences between phonemes and graphemes. (Although linguists have not agreed upon an exact definition, phonemes may be roughly defined as the minimal contrasting units of speech; graphemes are the minimal contrasting units of the writing system.) In the phonics approach, explicit rules are given for transforming the graphemes into specific sounds. The phoneme-grapheme correspondence of English is regular enough that such rules will work in the majority of cases. There are a number of environments, however, in which there is not a direct, predictable relationship between grapheme and phoneme. That is, one grapheme or combination of graphemes may be pronounced differently in different words: "i" → [aj] (line) or [I] (bowline); "ough" → [ʌf] (rough), [ɔf] (cough), [ow] (though), [uw] (through); or one phonetic sound may be spelled in a number of ways: [i] → s<u>ee</u>, c<u>ei</u>ling, <u>ea</u>t, p<u>ie</u>ce, b<u>e</u>gin. To compensate for this indirect grapheme-phone relationship, either a special phonetic alphabet must be used, or the vocabulary introduced to the child must be strictly controlled so that the child encounters only those words in which the pronunciation can be predicted by the orthography. Words which don't conform must be introduced later as exceptions.

The "linguistic" methods are named after the early structural linguists (such as Bloomfield and Fries). These methods are based on the hypothesis that written language is an exact graphic representation of spoken language. They consider reading to be a phonologic transfer process; the child learns to respond to visual patterns which replace auditory patterns as signals of linguistic meaning. As with phonics, the "linguistic" approach emphasizes phoneme-grapheme correspondences. Children learn to associate groups of graphemes with auditory forms. The associations are not explicitly taught, but the child is expected to learn them inductively through systematic exposure to various types of possible spelling and pronunciation patterns. A linguistic approach requires previous experience with similar words (if the child knows "red", he can read "bed"); a phonics approach does not. The advantage of both the phonics and linguistics methods is that the child has a system for organizing his knowledge, and a systematic means for attacking new words. It is apparent, however, that the phonics and linguistic approaches emphasize the identification theory of learning to read. Little provision is made for teaching the child to read for meaning, or to use cues other than letter-identification cues. The child is left to pick up contextual cues on his own. The phonetically-based methods are preoccupied with superficial phenomena. They don't focus on the relationships which really control meaning, but entirely omit this most important step in the reading process.

The Gestalt, or look-say approach, is based on the theory that the act of reading is essentially a search for meaning, in which a variety of context cues play a large part. Instead of teaching the phoneme-grapheme correspondences, look-say texts present individual words as the basic units of reading instruction. Any generalities about the sound structure are incidental. Although this approach theoretically represents an improvement over the other

types, it fails to take advantage of the numerous spelling-pronunciation correspondences which do exist in English.

These characteristics described for the phonics and Gestalt approaches represent the extremes of the viewpoints held by reading specialists. The theories represented by basal reading series used in U. S. public schools lie at various points along this scale. The three series which I have chosen to examine in this paper are typical examples of a special-alphabet phonic approach (i/t/a), a linguistic (controlled vocabulary) approach (SRA), and the Gestalt approach (Scott Foresman).

The two most elementary texts or levels of each series, and their corresponding workbooks, have been analyzed. The outline of the analysis corresponds to the outline of the chapter on the characteristics of BE, so that the BE descriptions may be easily referred to. I have concentrated on the phenomena which occur most frequently in BE. The potentially contrasting forms are notated in capital letters. In actual BE, of course, several variations may occur in one sentence. For illustrative purposes, however, variations are notated only in the specific section which refers to them. More than one variation is sometimes listed for a single SE construction. (i.e., the SE sentence, "There is going to be. . ." is notated three times; in Morphology sections I: There → It, and K: Is going to → gonna, gon, or go; and in Syntax section A2: "Is" is deleted.

Analysis of i/t/a

The Early-to-Read i/t/a program is based on the hypothesis that the process of learning to read consists primarily of relating graphic symbols to their corresponding sounds. "The child's task in reading is primarily one of determining which sound, or sound cluster, the symbols are intended to represent." (Teacher's Manual and Key to Book I, page vi) Ultimately deriving meaning from these sounds is considered important, of course, but the ability to comprehend must be preceded by the understanding of these grapheme-phoneme relationships. The Initial Teaching Alphabet was developed in an attempt to make this task of association easier for the child, by setting up a systematic relationship between the written code and the oral language of which he already has command. "The use of the Initial Teaching Alphabet removes the phonic inconsistencies and spelling irregularities of traditional orthography...This one-to-one relationship between symbol and sound lightens the burden of the beginner in learning the language code. (Ibid. page i) "In contrast to the conventional reading program in which the child is exposed to traditional spellings and may conclude that spelling has no system or that to be certain of accuracy every word must be learned by rote, the emphasis in the i/t/a program is upon learning that there is a systematic relationship between spelling and speech." (Ibid. page viii) Realizing that the orthographic symbols may be manifested orally in a variety of ways, according to the individual's rules of phonetic processing, the authors of i/t/a have attempted to adhere to a "neutral dialect." Thus, every phonetic detail is not represented in the alphabet. The notation of dialectal differences is sacrificed for the sake of "consistency." "The principle of inviolability, by which the consistency of symbolic representation takes precedence over variations in dialect, is a desideratum if Babelization is to be avoided." (Teacher's Manual and Key for Books 2 and 3 and Workbook, page vi)

Since reading activity is considered to be so dependent upon understanding the sound-symbol associations in this program, auditory discrimination is stressed. "The consistent relationship between symbol and sound in the Initial Teaching Alphabet provides a psychologically sound basis for developing the visual and auditory discrimination skills involved in the perceptual aspect of the reading process. . .Thus, in the Early-to-Read i/t/a program the child is taught to use his reliable code-deciphering knowledge to unlock the pronunciation of any strange words he encounters, and to combine this knowledge with context in deriving meaning from the printed page." (Teacher's Manual I, page vi) Thus, the sequence of instruction begins with "auditory discrimination activity", followed by "auditory-visual association and recognition, writing, and the reinforcement and use of the symbol sound in word contexts." (Ibid, page ix)

Proponents of the i/t/a method feel that the systematic nature of the relationship between sound and symbol will enable the child to learn to read efficiently. Because he can depend on this systematic relationship to interpret the written code, the vocabulary and sentence patterns do not need to be strictly controlled. Thus the stories may be written in a reasonably "realistic" style.

Several criticisms can be raised against the assumptions upon which i/t/a is based. Current theories stress the importance of contextual cues in teaching the child to read for meaning. (See Chapter I) This suggests that the i/t/a method places an undue amount of emphasis on the sound-symbol relationship. A large part of the early training in i/t/a consists of developing auditory discrimination as a means of teaching the sound-symbol relationship. Yet Melmed (1970) has found that success in auditory discrimination does not correlate with success in reading. (Chapter III)

When a new symbol is presented, its pronunciation is taught in isolation. The child is then asked to "blend" these separate phonemes (speech sounds represented by one orthographic symbol) to produce meaningful words. But it is physically impossible to pronounce a stop consonant without also creating some accompanying vocalic sound. Also, a phoneme does not have one specific sound, but its pronunciation varies according to the phonetic environment. Thus, this blending process cannot be a phonetically precise task of linking together the letters of the "consistent" i/t/a code; the child must also draw upon the knowledge of his language which he already possesses.

The i/t/a alphabet itself is not consistent, and is not used consistently in the reading materials. The "principle of inviolability" (the principle by which each orthographic symbol represents one and only one sound) is not maintained. Most of the phonetic inconsistencies seem to result from a probably subconscious attempt to keep the i/t/a as close as possible to the traditional spelling. (See examples below.)

In some cases, the i/t/a orthography represents the redundancy-free phonemic level rather than the phonetic level (or physical pronunciation of speech.) As a child acquires language, he internalizes a set of language-specific rules. (These are both phonological and grammatical, but the present discussion is concerned only with phonological rules.) Since every speaker of any particular language automatically knows these context-sensitive rules, the features produced by their application are redundant; i.e., they don't need to be explicitly stated. For example, in English, /p/ in word-initial position is always aspirated (accompanied by a puff of air): [p^h It], whereas in word-final position it is not: [rIp]. Successful use of the i/t/a method involves the application of phonological redundancy rules. For instance, the symbols ‹o› and ‹ae› have different phonetic manifestations in the words

‹ʃharon›, ‹ʃhop›, ‹carræj›, ‹gæm›. (The symbols ‹ › are used to enclose material notated in the i/t/a orthographic system.) The child unconsciously applies the vowel reduction rule for unstressed syllables in ‹ʃharon› and ‹carræj›, in which ‹ o › and ‹ æ › are both actually pronounced [ə] .

In some cases the i/t/a orthography reflects lexical, rather than phonetic, relationships: "you" and "your" are notated as ‹yω› and ‹yωr›. In other instances, there is no consistent relationship to either the underlying or the surface representations, but similarity to traditional orthography is retained. One phonetic entity may be given several spellings:

1. k → < c>, <k>, and <ck> (<caf>, <kitten>, <clock>)
2. z → < z > and <z > (nose→ <nœz>; froze→ <frœ z>)
3. ks → <ks> and <x> (<weeks>, but <fox>)
4. Single phones are sometimes represented by double consonants in i/t/a, when there is no phonetic justification for the repetition:

   < sissors> (scissors) but <desert> (desert)

   < cannot> but <many>

   < middl> but <candl>

5. [w] → <w> (<will>) and <wh> (<whot>)

   (Some people do pronounce these initial sounds differently, however.)

6. [o] → <o > (rob; on) and < a>(tar; father)

The word "cot" is spelled two ways in different places: <cot> and <cat>.

One i/t/a symbol sometimes represents more than one sound:

1. < ue> →[uw] (new) and [juw] (few)
2. < o > [a] (<hot>), [o] (<for>), and [ə] (<whot>)

   In an oral workbook exercise introducing the ‹o› sound, "what" is contrasted with "hot" and "jot"; yet in Book 2 "what" is spelled <whot>.

There is one attempt to capture the unstressed quality of vowels in the i/t/a orthography: "too" and "two" are written as <tωω>, while "to" is represented by <tω >(pronounced like "took"). In other instances, however, the unstressed vowel is ignored: "the" [ðə]→‹ ʃhe› (<e> as in "bed"); "and" nd and "an" n are written <and>, <an> (<a> as in "ant"); "Santa" Santə]→ ‹ Santa›; "carriage" [kerəʤ] → ‹ carræ j› (‹æ› as in "cage"), etc. One exercise requires auditory discrimination of the differences between the words "and" and "end", which are phonetically indistinguishable in some SE dialects.

The verbal expression "have to" [haf tə] is written ‹hav tω› . The word "lasso" is rendered alternately as ‹lassω› and ‹lassæ›.

i/t/a and Black English

I. i/t/a Phonology

Although the phonological system of the black child is rule-governed every bit as much as the system of the white child, the two phonological systems differ significantly. BE is more complex to describe, because many of the rules are variable, the probability of their application depending upon a number of interacting linguistic and socio-linguistic contextual conditions. (See Chapter II) i/t/a's strong dependence upon one neutral oral dialect thus penalizes the black child, since the phoneme-grapheme relationship is even less consistent for him than for the average middle class child, who speaks SE.

The first i/t/a workbook prepares the child for reading by introducing the SE phonemes. Auditory discrimination of these sounds is expected in various contexts. Many exercises in the workbook are based on the child's ability to hear and produce orally exactly those distinctions which are not present in the spoken BE dialect. Success in such exercises does not guarantee

that a child who speaks the black dialect will be a better reader of material printed in SE. (See Chapter II) It does require him, however, to produce a new oral dialect, a requirement which is not necessarily desirable.

A. Vowels

1. In BE, [I] ~ [E] / ____ nasal

When the i/t/a symbol < e > (phonetically [E]) is taught, the child is asked to think of words that have the [E] vowel sound. If the vowel in the word is not pronounced [E] (according to the SE norm), the teacher writes the child's word on the board. The child must then repeat the two "contrasting" vowel sounds in order to hear, learn, and produce the difference between them. After < i > ([I]) has been introduced, one entire workbook lesson is specifically devoted to discrimination of the differences between [E] and [I], which "are commonly confused by children." (Manual for Book 1, page 51) The teacher repeats words and asks the child to identify which vowel they hear. Several of these words might confuse a black child: hen, ten, men, hem, pen, pin, tin, swim, bent, sent, etc. Even if he can hear the difference, it isn't part of his oral dialect, and he does not need to know this distinction in order to comprehend the word.

2. In BE, [ij] ~ [ej] / ____r and sometimes l

Similar exercises are used to teach auditory discrimination between < ee > ([ij]) and < ae > ([ej]). Words which might create difficulties here are: gale, hail, mail, deal, heal, meal.

3, 4, and 5. The other vowel pairs which may not be distinct for BE speakers are not specifically contrasted.

B. Liquids

Recognition of the phonemes /r/ and /l/ is first taught in word-initial position, where pronunciaton rules are the same for SE and BE.

Subsequent exercises, however, in which the liquids must be distinguished in other positions may cause problems for the black child who deletes these phonemes in speech. He may experience difficulty in his auditory discrimination of them. Students must decide whether two words in pairs such as "bell/hall, mile/tile, seal/table, real/red" sound the same or different at the end. Final "r" must be distinguished from other consonants in words such as "spear, jar, fire, ear." "R" following unstressed "i,u,e" is represented by a separate symbol <ɾ> in i/t/a. For the child who does not pronounce "r" in an unstressed syllable, the following i/t/a rule is phonetically inaccurate (although it still holds for him as a spelling rule): in the words "girl, bird, fir, turn, purr, her, were," the vowel sound changes "because the "ɾ" follows the sound." (Manual for Books 2 and 3, page 45.)

C. Final Consonant Cluster Simplification

Consonant clusters are not specifically taught by the i/t/a method; but they appear phonetically in a number of words used to teach single consonant sounds. The cluster simplification rule may interfere with the black child's success in these cases. A typical classroom exercise suggested for teaching consonants is found on page 63 of the Manual for Book 1. "Now listen as I say some other words. Listen to the symbol-sound "d" at the end of each word: did, ride, red, bird, hand, mud. Did you hear the "d" at the end of each word? Can you tell me some other words that end with "d"? (Even those "d's" which are not in consonant clusters may be omitted or weakened by some BE speakers, but "bird" and "hand" are affected by this particular rule.) In an exercise for developing the recognition of "n" in final position, "hand" is used for an example of a word which does not end in "n". But for the black child, "hand" may end in the nasalized vowel "ã", or "an."

Sibilants are also presented for recognition in some cluster-final positions, from which they may be deleted by BE speakers (weeks, six ‹siks›, box ‹boks›, frogs, signs, lines, apples, Indians, dogs, roads).

D. Weakened Final Consonants

Exercises in which discrimination of stops in consonant clusters in word-final position is required were discussed in the preceding section. The interference caused by the weakening or deletion of single consonants is more significant, however, because the number of words affected by this rule is much greater than those affected by consonant cluster simplification: rat, net, bit, coat, hot, mad, fed, hid, bleed, bud, head, played, Bob, bib, cab, grab, rope, pipe, clip, tap, hook, bike, snowflake, take, thick, plug, tag, dig, fog and many more. Some workbook exercises involve discrimination of final consonants in pairs of words which are distinctive in SE, but may be homonyms in BE: bit/big, rub/rug, bed/beg, dip/dig. These exercises are particularly undesirable.

Words ending in deleted nasals are not likely to be confused with those ending in deleted consonants, since in both BE and SE the vowel preceding the nasal is nasalized. Problems may arise, however, where the specific nasal sound must be identified, and especially where the word pairs are similar except for the -n or -ŋ ending: them/then, home/stone, fan/fang, run/rung, win/wing, ran/rang. The indefinite article "an", which is never used in the speech of some blacks, is used as an example of a word ending in the sound-symbol "n".

E. Additonal Consonant Variables

1. Dental Fricatives

[ð] or (‹ʃh›) and [θ] or (‹ʧh›) must be auditorily identified by the child in initial, medial, and final position in these words: this, the,

they, their, those, that, brother, father, weather, bather, breathe, lathe, thank, thirty, three, birthday, health, path, fourth, teeth, both, fifth. As with weakened final consonants, exercises producing particular difficulties are those involving SE minimal pairs which are homonyms for BE: tenth/tent ("tent" or "ten" in BE), and those exercises with groups of words in which initial phonemes that vary in BE must be identified as the same of different: win/thin/thick/thread, three/threw/stick/thirty. (In BE, "th" in initial position may become "t" or "f", especially before "r".)

2. Initial Clusters with "r"

One exercise requires the child to identify [ʃ] in "shrimp", which may be "swimp", "srimp", or "simp" in BE.

3. [-t] and [-d]

[t] and [d] are presented for recognition rather early in the sequence. Multi-syllabic words have not yet been used at this point, so discrimination of [t] and [d] in medial position is not required.

4. [v]

Discrimination exercises are not used to introduce the [v] sound, which is sometimes pronounced [β] in BE.

II. i/t/a Morphology

"Correct" SE morphological forms are taught in the workbooks which accompany the basic readers. Although some of these exercises occur in levels which are more advanced than 1 and 2, I have included them as a matter of interest. The child is given exercises in which he is asked to choose the correct form of a word. Here are some examples:

A. Past Tense

Workbook 4, page 28:

Mother_____ for the mailman to bring the mail. (wait/waited)

The bus_____ to go before the men could reach it. (start/started)

page 35: Ted _____ off the television. (turn/turned)

Daddy _____ Mother and Bill. (surprise/surprised)

Bill and Polly _____ Daddy. (surprise/surprised)
(This sentence is ambiguous for white children, too.)

It hasn't been demonstrated that ability to make the correct responses in these exercises actually contributes to the child's ability to read. In fact, Labov (1972), found that ability to read the past tense -ed suffix did not correlate with general reading skill in adolescent Negro boys.

B. Third Person Singular Verb Suffix

Workbook 2 and 3:

Bob and Ted_____ to play. (like/likes)

Ted_____ his car around the yard. (ride/rides)

Workbook 4, page 33:

Bee _____ Mother to set the table. (help/helps)

Sue _____at the pretty dresses. (look/looks)

Dan _____Ted on the telephone. (call/calls)

The Manual suggests that the teacher help children who are experiencing difficulties with these exercises by saying, "Remember to write the word that makes the sentence sound right." Such advice does not help the child who does not pronounce the -z suffix.

C. Possessive Suffix

Workbook 4, page 44: The wind tossed____ kite high above the trees. (Ned/Ned's)

D. Noun Plural Suffix

Workbook 2 and 3, page : I was six _____ old yesterday.
(year/years)

Below is a list of those SE morphological construction in the reading text itself for which a child who speaks BE might have a different form. The symbol (2x) indicates that the form occurs two times on that page.

A. Past Tense

Page Number	SE form	BE form
18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 32 (2x), 33, 34, 35 (3x), 37 (2x), 38, 43 (2x), 46, 55, 58, 59, 61, 62 (2x), 64, 65 (2x)	SAID	SAY(S)
16, 37, 22	CAME	COME(S)
39, 41, 42 (2x), 43, 47, 48, 54, 57 (3x), 58, 59, 60 (2x), 63, 64	LOOKED	LOOK
42	TRIED	TRY
26	HAPPENED	HAPPEN
31, 50	OPENED	OPEN
48, 64 (2x)	WANTED	WANT
48 (2x)	WAITED	WAIT
50, 53, 54	STARTED	START STA'
52, 53, 54	JUMPED	JUMP
54	CRIED	CRY
55 (2x)	LAUGHED	LAUGH
56, 61, 64, 65, 66, 69	CALLED	CALL
70 (2x)	SHOUTED	SHOUT

The first few stories in the introductory reading book are written in the present tense, with the exception of "said". This avoids morphological discrpancies, but it is not in accordance with the basic tendency of BE for narratives to be related in the past tense.

B. Third Person Singular Verb Suffix

Page Number	SE form	BE form
3, 4, 6, 8, 9 (5x), 11, 14	LIKES	LIKE
17	SAYS	SAY
38	NEEDS	NEED
62	HAS	HAVE

(Note: the above "error" due to hypercorrection.)

C. Possessive Suffix

31	MIKE'S mother	MIKE mother
53	BEN'S book	BEN book
57 (2x), 59	BOB'S yoyo coat	BOB yoyo coat

D. Noun Plural Suffix

28, 33	PETS	PET
37 (3x)	CATS	CAT
38	SHOES	SHOE
41	CARS	CAR
41	SHOPS	SHOP
41	PEOPLE	PEOPLES
62	RIDES	RIDE

E. Contractions

33	I'LL	I

E. Contractions (Con't)

Page Number	SE form	BE form
35 (2x), 46	DON'T	DON'; DŌ

F. Pronouns

25, 34 (2x), 56, 58	YOUR	YOU
2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 (3x), 10 11, 49, 50, 59, 60 (2x), 64, 69, 70	HIS	HE (his → he is less common in BE than your → you.)

G. Prefix Deletion

4, 6, 8, 15, 43, 59, 68 (6x)	AROUND	'ROUND
35, 37, 46 (3x)	AWAY	'WAY
49, 50	ABOUT	'BOUT

H. Indefinite Article

The indefinite article "an" is not used in Book 2.

I. Expletive "It"

41 (3x)	THERE were so many cars shops people	IT were
56	THERE is going to be	IT is

J. Idiomatic Verbs

10, 13 (2x), 29	HERE IS	HERE GO (HIGO)
56	I AM GOING TO	I'M GONNA I'NGNA IMANA I'MON I'MA
56	There IS GOING TO be	GONNA GON GŌ

K. Prepositions

Variations in preposition usage are not general enough to make any valid predictions of what a BE child might say.

L. Conjunctions

There are no environments for interference in the use of conjunctions.

III. i/t/a Syntax

This section lists syntactic patterns in the reading text which might be different for the speaker of BE.

A. Verb forms

1. Invariant 'be'

a. future and conditional 'be'

Page number	SE form	BE form
35	We WILL BE at school	We BE

b. intermittent 'be'

There were no sentences in which the BE intermittent 'be' might occur.

2. Copula deletion

a. predicate constructions

Page number	SE form	BE form
1, 5, 7, 9	This IS Ted	This Ted
10	Bob	Bob
2	This IS his bike	This his bike
5	his car	his car
7	his scooter	his scooter
48	This IS the book	This the book

Page number	SE form	BE form
10	Here IS his kite	Here his kite
13	Ann	Ann
13	the airplane	the airplane
29	my cat	my cat
12	There IS the kite	There the kite
36	the bell	the bell
36	School IS over	School over
43	Where IS Sharon?	Where Sharon?
43	Sharon IS lost	Sharon lost
59	My yoyo	My yoyo
59	My coat	My coat
56	The contest IS at the playground	The contest at. . .

b. before a present participle

3 34	The school bell IS ringing	. . .bell ringing

c. before future going to:

56	There IS going to be	There going to be

3. Perfective

62	The carnival HAS come	carnival come

B. Multiple Negation

There are no environments for potential multiple negation in Book 2.

C. Questions

1. Direct

25	What WILL your mother say?	What your mother (GON') say?
25	WILL she be mad?	She (GON') be mad?
27	What WILL you do next?	What you (GON') do next?
33	WILL you wait Mike?	You (GON') wait, Mike?

61	ARE you GOING TO be. . .?	You GON' be. . .?
32	ARE you coming. . .?	You coming. . .?
48	IS this the book?	This the book?
58	HAVE you looked. . .?	You looked. . . ?
43	Where IS Sharon?	Where Sharon (IS)?
43	Where DID she go?	Where she go?
46	Where HAVE you been?	Where you been?
46	Why DID you go away?	Why you go away?

2. Indirect

18 (2x)	See IF you CAN hit. . . ?	See CAN you hit. . . ?
47	Ben looked down the road to see IF Miss West WAS coming.	. . . see WAS Miss West coming.

D. Embedded Imperative

There are no examples in the text.

E. Pleonastic Pronoun

Rules for the optional addition of the pleonastic pronoun are not specific enough to allow for predictions of where they might occur.

F. Relative Clause

There are no examples in the text.

i/t/a Summary

From the standpoint of modern reading theory, i/t/a is the least valid of the three series under consideration because of its phonological inconsistencies. Its methodology is based on a view of reading as an act of letter-identification.

It fails to take advantage of the underlying lexical similarities which cut across dialect boundaries. Instead, a special alphabet is set up which attempts to establish a one-to-one correspondence between the phonetic and orthographic segments of English. This correspondence is intended to be "neutral"— valid for all children who speak English. But the black child is forced into producing an unnatural pronunciation. A further fault of the i/t/a is that it does not provide for the use of any language cues outside of these phoneme-grapheme associations.

In actual practice, these deficiencies of i/t/a might be mitigated to some extent. If the teacher and child both understand that i/t/a orthography represents SE phonetic manifestations, the black child may be allowed to use his own rules of pronunciation rather than reproducing the SE forms. In such a case, however, the basic i/t/a philosophy of providing the child with a consistent system to use as a pedagogical aid is being completely ignored. The child who normally speaks the neutral dialect can rely on the consistent system of phonetic associations, while the black child cannot; two conflicting methodologies are being utilized in the same classroom. This situation gives one more methodological advantage to the child who already has social and cultural advantages. For the black child, it should be easier to read standard orthography than i/t/a, because standard orthography is based on the underlying generalities of English rather than the phonetic details.

On an experimental basis it would be interesting to develop an i/t/a alphabet representing the phonetic output of BE. The books written in this alphabet could also make use of BE syntactical patterns. The lack of provision for non-phonetic cues might be offset by supplementary exercises developing the use of syntax cues (such as the cloze technique). Such a program would be far from ideal. Because of the extent of variation within the black dialect itself,

it is difficult to represent with a single accurate phonetic alphabet. In addition, teaching the child to read with a special alphabet necessarily implies that he must later learn to transfer his knowledge to reading standard orthography. The transfer will be doubly difficult if a special BE phonetic alphabet has been used: the child will have to cope with new pronunciatons and syntactic patterns as well as new spellings. A further problem is that the use of a special alphabet may be considered a racist policy by some parents and educators.

According to Labov's predictions (See Chapter IV) morphological forms in which phonetic and grammatical differences interact are the most confusing to the black child (e.g., the possessive morpheme, contractions of the future auxiliary "will", contracted copula, the regular past tense suffix, and the third person singular verb suffix). Such forms are used both in the workbook exercises and in the language used in the texts. Of these, the past forms appear most frequently. The third person singular verb suffix and the possessive suffix are also used, and there is one case of a future tense contraction. The other morphological differences are probably less significant. Several syntactic patterns which are variant in BE appear in the elementary texts. These may also be confusing to the child.

Analysis of SRA Basic Reading Series

In this series, reading is considered to be a process of decoding. The reader sees letters, recognizes their sound values, "hears" the word, and then understands. The aural aspect of language is very important to the authors of the SRA texts, who feel that all reading consists basically of relating symbols to sounds. Oral reading is a basic ingredient of the system in the beginning stages, because it is only through hearing himself and others pronouncing the sounds that the child will connect these sounds with the symbols.

With practice the reader learns to recognize whole words, but even mature readers revert to the letter to sound relationship when they encounter new words. (See Chapter I). Therefore the basic thrust of this series isn't to equip the child with a large vocabulary, but with a workable decoding system. The authors recognize that English does not have a one-to-one sound-letter correspondence, so children are never asked to sound out the letters of a word. According to these authors, such a word-attack approach is not only misleading (letters do not necessarily have their own sounds in isolation), but twice as hard, because the child must first translate the letters into their respective sounds, and then try to combine them into a meaningful word (c-a-b = cuh-ah-buh = cab). In a preparatory Alphabet Book, the names and shapes of the letters are taught, but this is simply to facilitate reference and discussion.

There are a great number of letter-sound relationships which must be learned. The authors firmly stress the value of inductive learning for this task. If children are merely given lots of rules to memorize, they don't know when to apply the rules, or when a word is an exception to a rule. Instead, the SRA method presents children with controlled groups of words, in a programmed sequence. The first set of words, for example, contains: man, Dan, ran, fan,

can. In presenting a new sound-letter pattern, the teacher will say, "Name the letters: m-a-n. This word is 'man.' Now name the letters of the next word: D-a-n. What is this word?" So the child starts with the raw data and sets up his own internal systems of rules. Then he's given the chance to apply these rules in new situations.

The SRA series requires a closely controlled system of introducing vocabulary. The child is supposed to formulate his own rules by observing contrasting features. Thus, in the word list given above, he should realize that /-an/ has the same sound in every word, and only the initial consonant changes. Letter-sound patterns are introduced in a progression of increasing lingustic and psychological complexity, so the child can build on his knowledge of previous patterns. Each group presented contains words which differ only in one phoneme, and in which each of the similar phonemes are represented by the same grapheme. To begin with, the CVC (consonant-vowel-consonant) pattern is presented, because it involves a one-to-one letter-phoneme relationship. The initial C is varied first (man-pan), then the final C (man-mat), and then the vowel (mat-mit). In order to create any meaningful sentences, a few words which are exceptions must be used. These words (such as "the" and "I" in the first lesson) are taught as exceptions. . . the child isn't even asked to "name the letters", but just to accept them as they are. Such sight words include those that contain sound-spelling patterns which haven't been formally introduced yet and alternate pronunciations for words, as well as idiosyncratic words.

The SRA method attempts to produce a practical system, incorporating the best points of the two extreme views of the phonics and Gestalt methods. It recognizes that the English orthographic system is not based on a strict sound-letter correspondence, yet it exploits the similarities that do exist as a way

to teach the concept that this mysterious string of letters does represent a meaningful sequence of sounds to attempt to provide an optimum learning situation in which the child can use his own linguistic knowledge to teach himself to read, and aids this process by avoiding the presentation of confusing data.

One of the drawbacks of the system is that this method of controlled vocabulary introduction results in some inane stories. The authors claim that "When we 'hear' language that is familiar to us, we comprehend what we read." (Supplementary Teaching Plans page 1) Yet the tightly structured nonsensical discourse of the SRA texts does not resemble the language that children are familiar with. Here is an example from one of the earliest stories, entitled "The Fan:" "Dan ran. Nan ran. Dan ran to the man. The man can fan. The man can fan Dan. The man can fan Nan." The authors recognize that the language of the intial levels sound artificial. They maintain that the child's excitement at just being able to read carries him along until he has accumulated a large enough vocabulary to enable him to read more meaningful stories.

Some of the methodological practices of the SRA system are not based on sound theories. SRA scorns the use of context, visual configuration, and picture cues in teaching the child to read. According to Athey (1971), however, modern reading theory maintains that all these cues contribute greatly to the extraction of meaning from the written symbols. Also, the child is expected to rely on an inductive process for learning the sound-symbol relationships. The authors feel this approach is valuable because it parallels the process by which children learn to speak. An infant has the innate ability to analyze the raw data of the language he hears spoken around him, thus deriving a set of grammatical and phonological rules (which, of course, have some exceptions.) The sequence that a child goes through in learning the correct past forms of

verbs gives evidence of the rule-forming process. In the first stage, the irregular past tense forms of commonly used verbs (such as "came") are correctly used. In the next stage, past forms which undergo the regular "-ed" addition rule appear. Having discovered this rule, the child applies it unconditionally, producing forms such as "comed." In the last stage, he learns that there are exceptions, and learns the correct forms for these exceptions. It is doubtful, however, that learning to read is similar to learning to speak: learning to read is not an inherent activity, while learning to speak is.

Since reading must be taught, it is probable that pedagogical aids such as explicit rules governing sound-symbol relationships are of value.

The sound-symbol relationships used in the SRA materials are not entirely consistent, although they are much more consistent than in i/t/a.

1. "an" is taught with the pronunciation [æn], (rhyming with "man."). This is a forced pronunciation, however. In actual discourse, the pronunciation is unstressed [ən].

2. The "a" in "am, "Al", and "at" is taught as if it received an identical pronunciation in these three words. In "am", however, as in "an", it is given an unstressed [ən] pronunciation in discourse. (This "isolation pronunciation" is not peculiar to SRA, but is taught by all or nearly all phonetically based reading programs.)

3. Words with "o" as a medial vowel are presented together in one group, as having the same pronunciaton. The quality of the vowel varies significantly among different words in some dialects, however, "Jog, hot, dog, fog" are often pronounced [jɑg], [hɑt], [dɔg], [fɔg].

SRA and Black English

I. Phonology

Additional inconsistencies are encountered by the child who speaks BE. Dialectal differences are acknowledged in the SRA teachers manual. "There will probably be children in any classroom whose language abilities do not entirely match those of an abstract 'average child', and formal and informal language instruction may be needed to give these children the abilities required for successful decoding." (Supplementary Teaching Plans, Level A, page 3) They provide no examples, but suggest that all language instruction be entirely separated from reading instruction. This attitude bases reading instruction on a child's prior facility with SE. Only grammatical differences are of concern, however. Teachers are encouraged not to attempt to change a child's pronunciation if he speaks a dialect. The authors feel that these differences "do not interfere significantly with learning to read, whereas trying to change them as a part of reading instruction burdens the child with a double task." (Ibid., page 7) Since letters are learned by their names, rather than being "sounded out", individual variations are possible. The child is free to pronounce the letters according to his own contextual phonological rules.

Difficulties may be encountered, however, because many of the "contrasting" minimal pairs of words employed to teach the sound symbol correspondences are actually homonyms for speakers of the black dialect. A paragraph from the teachers manual illustrates this point: "When a child misreads a word (such as cap for cat), you will of course know which part of the word is causing the trouble. In that case, say 'No, you read c-a-t.' (Emphasize the t). 'This is c-a-p.' (Emphasize the p.)" (page 1) If a black child cannot hear the difference (which he does not produce) between the "p" and "t", he will be confused.

This section lists the specific areas in which contrasts are made by the SRA system which may not be contrasting for black children.

A. Vowels

1. [I] → [E] / ____nasal

"bin/Ben; pin/pen; tin/ten" are contrasted.

2., 3., 4., 5. No other vowel contrasts which might cause confusion are taught in the first two levels.

B. Liquids

These pairs are contrasted: "pal/pad; Sal/sad; Hal/had; Al/am." "R" is not introduced in final position in the first two levels. There are no medial contexts, either, since very few multi-syllabic words appear in the first two levels.

C. Final Consonant Cluster Simplification

The only final clusters present in the first two texts are [-ks] clusters. These phonetic clusters appear only in environments where they are represented orthographically by the single grapheme "x", and they are not contrasted with anything.

D. Weakened Final Consonants

Many word pairs taught in the SRA curriculum which might be confusing for the black child involve contrasts between final consonants. A number of different types of exercises are involved. Often words which are homonyms are used to introduce new sounds in final position (i.e., if the child already can read c-a-t, he learns c-a-p by substituting p for t - see above). "Bit" is used to teach "big", "dig " to teach "did", and "but" to teach "bug". Other exercises require children to hear the contrasts between the following

pairs: "hit/hid, lit/lid, sat/sad, mad/mat, had/hat, pad/pat, God/got, sad/sag, bad/bag, rag/rat, sat/sag, did/dig, rid/rig, fig/fit, pig/pit, lad/lap, map/mad, rat/rap, sap/sag, tap/tag, lid/lip, Sid/sip, did/dip, hip/hid." Words which are distinguished in SE by a + or - voicing feature ("bet/bed, pig/pick") are not exact phonetic homonyms because of a slight difference in vowel length. The vowel before nasals and voiced stops is lengthened, the vowel before voiceless stops is not. This slight difference may not be significant to the child, however. Upon hearing words pronounced orally by the teacher, the student is expected to fill in the final letter in individual words - "map, tap, cap, cat, rag, bag;" and groups - "mad/mat/map, rap/rag/ran, tan/tap/tag." The child is asked to read some sentences and phrases involving similar word pairs: "The bug is on the bud. A pig in a pit. Dad had a bad hat." (The BE speaker might read, "The bu' on the bu'. A pi' in a pi'. Da' ha' a ba' ha'.")

Similar exercises involve the deletion of nasals. In such cases, however, the two words usually remain distinct because the medial vowel retains the nasalization, after the nasal consonant is dropped. Such pairs are neither homonyms nor minimal pairs, but SRA treats them as minimal pairs. "nap" is used as a basis for teaching the word "Nan"; "hat" for "ham", "rid" for "rim", and "jam" for "jab". "Dad/Dan" are contrasted orally. The final consonant must be filled in when the teacher pronounces pan, man, and Dan.

E. Additional Consonant Variable

These consonants are not contrasted in environments in which they might be confused.

II. SRA Morphology

A. Past Tense

"Said" is used frequently in the first two levels, but this is the only past form for which there is a SE-BE difference.

	Page number	SE form	BE form
Level A.	78 (2x), 79 (2x)	SAID	SAY
Level B	2 (4x), 7 (3x), 8 (3x), 14 (2x), 15, 16 (5x), 17 (2x), 22 (4x), 23 (5x), 24 (2x), 25 (2x), 26, 27 (2x), 32, 34 (2x), 35 (2x), 36 (2x), 41, 42 (3x), 43, 45 (2x), 46, 47 (2x), 51 (2x), 55 (5x), 56(2x) 57(3x), 58, 61(3x), 62, 63, 64 65, 66, 67, 68 (3x), 69 (2x), 70 (2x), 71 (4x), 72, 74 (3x), 75 (5x), 76 (2x), 77 (2x), 78, 79 (3x), 80, 83 (2x), 84, 85, 86 (2x),		

B. Third Person Singular Verb Suffix

	Page number	SE form	BE form
Level A	4	GETS	GET
	28 (3x)	JABS	JAB
	65, 67	SITS	SIT
	65	LETS	LET

C. Possessive Suffix

	Page Number	SE form	BE form
Level A	45, 49 (3x), 58	PAM'S pal lap	PAM pal lap
	45, 48, 82	SAM'S pal lap hip	SAM pal lap hip
	52 (2x)	WAG'S pal	WAG pal
	57 (2x)	PAT'S tin pan ham	PAT tin pan ham
Level B	57 (2x), 59, 8	(his) DAD'S tin can jam lap big fan	DAD'S tin can jam lap big fan

Level A	62 (2x)	big MAN'S pit	MAN pit
		a	
	63	KIT'S tin can	KIT tin can
Level B	2	mat	mat
Level A	67 (2x)	SID'S pal	SID pal
	67 (2x)	his PAL'S cab	PAL cab
	76 (3x)	JIM'S lap	JIM lap
Level B	2	pet	pet
	2	DOT'S pet cat	DOT pet
	2	RAGS'S mat	RAG(S) mat
	15 (2x)	PEG'S leg	PEG leg
		pal	pal
	22	TIM'S hat	TIM hat
	26, 33 (2x)	the PIG'S pan	PIG pan
		leg	leg
	30 (2x)	BEN'S pet pig	BEN pet pig
		pig	pig
	40, 41 (3x), 43	TED'S bed	TED bed
		leg	leg
		pup	pup
	45	PEGLEG'S dad	PEGLEG dad
	60, 61, 62, 63,	TOM'S pet cat	TOM pet cat
	67, 68	legs	legs
		lap	lap
		bag	bag
		pal	pal
	69	BOB'S leg	BOB leg
	71	CUB'S leg	CUB leg
	83	MAX'S Pet	MAX Pet
	83, 84	FOX'S Den	FOX Den
		bed	bed
Level A	82	The big can is SAM'S	SAM

(Note: this deletion occurs only rarely)

D. Noun Plural Suffix

	Page number	SE form	BE form
Level A	58, 61 (2x), 68 (2x) 81 (2x)	RAGS	RAG
	61 (2x)	PINS	PIN
Level B	4, 5 (3x), 6 (2x)	NUTS	NUT
	20	POTS	POT
	23 (3x), 24 (4x), 25 (9x), 26 (6x), 27 (3x), 59 (4x)	PIGS	PIG
	27	PALS	PAL
	37 (8x)	HENS	HEN
	42, 43	BITS	BIT
	47, 61	LEGS	LEG
	56	BUGS	BUG
	60, 61, 64	CATS	CAT
	70	HIPS	HIP
	74, 77	CAPS	CAP
	80	PEGS	PEG
	31	MEN	MENS

E. Contractions

Level B	2, 72 (2x), 83	LET'S	LES
	2 (2x), 8, 57, 72, 79	IT'S	IS

F. Pronouns

Level A			
	1) 60, 61, 62 (2x), 63 (2x), 67, 69, 83 (3x)	HIS	HE
Level B	2, 4, 5(2x), 8(2x), 33, 36 (2x), 40, 41, 42 (2x), 43 (2x), 45, 48, 56, 60, 65, 74, 77, 80 (2x) 83, 86		

Page number	SE form	BE form
23	My pen IS a pigpen.	My pen a pigpen.
23	It IS not a hen pen!	It not a hen pen!
24 (2x), 25, 26 (2x), 34 (2x), 36, 45, 46, 57 (2x), 75, 79, 84, 85	It IS (not) fun.	It (not) fun.
27	A hen IS a pet. A pig IS a pal.	A hen a pet. A pig a pal.
28	In the van IS a pig.	In the van a pig.
28	On the pig IS a wig.	pig a wig
28	On the wig IS a hat.	wig a hat
28	In the hat IS a pin.	hat a pin
28 (2x)	The pig IS sad mad	pig sad mad
34, 35	The sun IS hot.	sun hot.
42	My pup IS not bad.	pup not bad
42	The ham IS in the pan	ham in the pan
45, 46, 47	The fog IS wet mud	fog wet mud
47	The pit IS big.	pit big
48	My piglet IS in the fog.	piglet in the fog.
55	It IS so hot. not	It so hot not
55	The sun IS up.	sun up
65	My job IS to run	job to run
65	Sim IS a bad cat.	Sim a bad cat.
69	The cub IS not bad.	cub not bad.
79, 80	The fox IS in the box. a den.	fox in the box. a den.

	Page number	SE form	BE form
	80	The box IS his den	box his den
	80	My pet fox IS not sad.	fox not sad.
	86	A pig IS fat.	pig fat
	86	A hen IS not fat.	hen not fat
B. Multiple Negation			
	32 (3x)	The bug did NOT sit on top of THE pig.	on top of NO pig.
C. Questions			
1. Direct			
Level A	74	. . .DID Tim win?	. . .Tim win?
	75	IS Jim in the pit?	Jim in the pit?
	76	DID Kit sit in Jim's lap?	Kit sit in Jim's lap?
	117	DID the fig dip it?	The fig dip it?
	117	DID the rat rip it?	The rat rip it?
	117	DID the ham zip it?	The ham zip it?
	117	DID the fan sip it?	The fan sip it?
Level B	6	DID Rin-Tin-Tin get the nuts?	Rin-Tin-Tin get. . .?
	13	DID the log tip?	The log tip?
	13	DID Tim sit?	Tim sit?
	22	Why IS Tim's hat wet?	Why Tim's hat wet?
	22	Why IS it wet, Tim?	Why it wet, Tim?
	78	Why IS my pet fox so sad?	Why my pet fox so sad?

D., E., F.,

Embedded imperatives, pleonastic pronouns and relative clauses do not appear in the first two levels.

SRA Summary

Theoretically, the SRA method claims that both identification and comprehension are important steps in reading. The methods used, however, emphasize the child's mastery of the sound-symbol correspondence. The authors feel that comprehension should follow naturally once the words are correctly identified. As with i/t/a, more attention should be given to the mastery of non-phonetic cues.

If every phonetic exercise is used as suggested in the teacher's manual, the SRA method could be extremely confusing for the black child, because many of these exercises require him to hear and produce distinctions which are not phonetically present in his dialect. Unlike i/t/a, however, the problem is not inherent in the materials, but in the method of their use. A black child will not have more difficulty than a white child in reading "Nan can fan the tan van," simply because of dialectal differences. His greatest difficulties will lie in performing successfully in the phonetic exercises. A teacher who knows which exercises are confusing to the black child can avoid using them.

Morphological differences which are merely due to pronunciation will not cause significant problems if the child can pronounce them in his own dialect. These include pronouns and plural nouns. The greatest problems are presented by the possessive suffix, the regular past tense verb "said" and the less frequently used third person singular verb suffix in which grammatical differences are also involved.

Only two syntactic patterns are frequently used for which BE speakers might have a different form: sentences in which the copula may be omitted and direct questions in which the auxiliary may be omitted.

Since the specific words and patterns which may be confusing to the black child are so few in number and (except for the third person singular verb suffix) are repeated so often, the child should soon be able to understand these differences.

In brief, a teacher who understands the differences between BE and SE can "make do" using these materials, even though they have not been planned with the black child in mind.

Analysis of Scott Foresman (1971)

The Scott Foresman reading series is a modern version of the old "look-say" approach to reading. The theory upon which it is based is that the reading process is a search for meaning. The written code is considered to be merely a secondary form of oral language - "writing is a subclass of language." (Manual, Level I, page 36) ("Oral" here refers not merely to pronunciation, but to the lexical, morphological, syntactic, and semantic aspects of spoken language.) The reader utilizes his knowledge of oral language in interpreting the written code. Because he already possesses this knowledge, he is able to make predictions about the material he is reading. The exact nature of these predictions, whether they are in the form of linguistic structures or are just of general semantic concepts, is not yet known, but research points toward the latter. (See Goodman, in Athey, 1971) What a reader thinks he sees at any time is determined partly by what he actually sees, and partly by what he expects to see. According to the authors of the Scott Foresman series, the cues that are used in making these predictions are a) letter-sound relationships within words, b) structures, intonation, and vocabulary of English within the flow of language, c) experiential and conceptual background within the individual, and d) pictures. Therefore, the Scott Foresman method emphasizes the development of a richness of experience, and "the acquisition of skills children need to extend their own individual vocabularies of written words they recognize." (Manual, Level 2, page 61) The program includes a number of components, focusing on the different "modalities for learning - seeing, hearing, manipulating, tracing, writing." (Manual, Level 1 page 7) The aim is to provide materials with an interesting content, "free of unfamiliar concepts and vocabulary" (Ibid., page 10) and with a minimum of potentially confusing contexts.

Although much care has been exercised in the planning of the Scott Foresman curriculum, and modern learning theories are used as its basis, some faults are still apparent. It seems obvious that reading is a search for meaning through understanding phrases, rather than just the decoding of individual phonemes. Yet Scott Foresman fails to take into account the difference between skills needed for learning to read and those used by the accomplished reader. Because the total language experience approach is used, children learning to read through the Scott Foresman curriculum are not provided with any specific system for decoding graphemes into phonemes. This void must be filled with some method for them to use in mentally organizing the information they are acquiring. An extremely high frequency of repetition, of both vocabulary and syntactic patterns, is relied upon. For example, the first story in the reading text for Level 2, "The Bus Ride", begins:

"A girl got on the bus. Then the bus went fast.

"A boy got on the bus. Then the bus went fast.

"A fox got on the bus. Then the bus went fast."

(and so on.)

There are some phonetic inconsistencies, too. In the initial stages of reading, the Scott Foresman authors claim that the vowel letters used at the beginning of words and in accented syllables of other words in the book "stand for the sounds children hear when they name the letters. Hence, children hear the name of the vowel letter each time they say a word and are not confused by variant vowel sounds." (Manual, Level 1, page 125) But this principle is not always obeyed. In some of the basic materials, different vowel qualities are used, even in initial position, where the child notices it most: "Amy Elizabeth Ermyntrude Annie. . ."; "U is for umbrellas." (Studybook, pages 29 and 49)

Also, the [kw] sound is not consistently represented. The claim is made that "qu" is pronounced the same in all words. Words used to illustrate this correspondence are "queen" and "quarter", pronounced [kwijn] and [kortɔr] in some SE dialects.

The authors are particularly concerned with providing a curriculum which is suitable across dialects, making use of "insights into the relationship of dialects to reading and insights into the teacher's role in recognizing and dealing with the problems encountered." (Manual, Level 1, page 8) They feel, however, that instruction in oral SE cannot be avoided. "Learning to read English should be easy for English-speaking children, and it will be if approached as the decoding of the language they already know. Of course children who do not speak English or children who do not have command of "school" English have a longer road to travel." (Ibid., page 8) "Auditory discrimination may be especially difficult for children who do not speak SE and who do not hear it spoken by family members or peers. These children need considerable practice in saying words as well as in listening to them. . . such pupils should be asked to say aloud the names of pictured objects after hearing the words carefully pronunced." (Manual, Level 2, page 266)

Scott Foresman and Black English

I. Scott Foresman Phonology

Although the Scott Foresman method suggests offering language instruction to speakers of non-standard dialects, it does not intend to teach auditory discrimination directly. Instead, it advocates teaching "auding ability." This approach makes sense for speakers of non-standard dialects. "Auding" is defined as "the act of hearing, comprising auditory acuity, perception, discrimination,

and comprehension." (Manual, Level 1, page 171) Thus, students learn to listen for whole ideas instead of phonemes. A typical exercise asks the child to find the big animal that has two a) horns b) tusks, etc." (Ibid, page 69)

Little attention is given to phonetic details. The major concern at first is that the student gets meaning from the printed page and gains positive attitudes toward reading. Misreadings such as "in" for "on" or "a" for "the" are not considered important. Shuy (in Baratz and Shuy, 1969) reports that black children sometimes read materials that have been written in SE aloud in the dialect that seems natural to them. Thus the focus is placed on extracting the general meaning rather than on identifying individual words. Errors of meaning such as the substitution of "horse" for "fox", are not allowed, however.

Scott Foresman authors believe that letters are always perceived as parts of larger units, and children are never asked to sound them out. The letter "b", for example, is always referred to as "bee", not "buh", since it never actually sounds like "buh". Since the pronunciation is not prescribed, the child is free to use his own phonological rules. The Scott Foresman method does not teach a one-to-one phoneme-grapheme correspondence. From the first story, different spellings for one sound are introduced. The child never learns to depend on strict systematic phonetic principles; instead he operates on the principle that the orthographic symbols represent meaningful speech. Any phoneme-grapheme relationships he learns must be discovered by induction. Scott Foresman differs from SRA in that the vocabulary used is not explicitly structured in such a way as to aid his discovery. Although this may not be the most rapid way for a child to learn the relationships, what he does learn is entirely accurate for his own dialect.

Individual letters are gradually introduced for identification. They are identified at first only in initial position. "This produces no hardship for

the speaker of BE, since there are few differences between SE and BE pronunciations in word-initial position. Later, sounds are distinguished in final position. Then, when the context doesn't provide enough cues for the proper identification of words, the child is expected to utilize the "consonant framework" concept. To determine if he is reading the first and last letters of the word correctly, he must employ the letter-sound relationships which he is expected to have discovered independently. The "consonant framework" concept is not as useful for the black child as for the white, because of the tendency to delete final consonants.

A. Vowels

Vowel identification presents few difficulties, since only consonants are depended upon for phonetic reading cues.

B. Liquids

In the story entitled "Ten Little Bears", the following sentence appears: "One little bear went to the pool to swim." According to the Manual, pond, park or pool would all make sense in this context, and are all probable if the child is using initial letter cues and context cues to identify the word he is reading. If the child does read the wrong word, the teacher is supposed to have him point to and name the last letter in the word ("l"). The teacher then asks the child if he can think of another word that fits the sentence and the picture, and ends with the "l" sound. This does not aid the child who deletes word-final "l".

C. Word Final Consonant Clusters

A similar procedure is suggested for teachers in helping children discriminate between "park" and playground" in the sentence: "Let's go to the

park to play." If the child reads"playground" he is asked to identify the final letter as "k", not "d". But in BE, the final consonant or consonants may be deleted.

D. Weakened Final Consonants

In order to reinforce the letter-sound relationship cues, the child is asked to choose the correct written word upon hearing a sentence read orally: "The cat/cap/car was in the street." "The pit/pill/pig was in the garden." "K" must be identified in final position in the words "duck" and "book." The black child may not be able to distinguish these final consonants.

The "consonant framework" method is used in the following sentences: "What did the pig yell when the man grabbed his tail?" ("What" must be distinguished from "why" by the final "t"), and identifying the answer to the riddle "What comes up to the door but can't come in?" (The answer is "steps", not "stairs"). But in BE, the final sibilant may be deleted, and then the final consonant may be dropped. In this case, the final consonants would not be helpful in identifying the word correctly.

E. Additional Consonant Variables

These are not affected.

II. Scott Foresman Morphology

Since Level I consists mostly of pictures and captions, there are no obvious areas which might be especially difficult for black children. This analysis is of the Level II book. The following abbreviations for story titles will be used:

HF Head to Feet

LT The Lion's Tail

LP Let's Play

RW Rudy's New Red Wagon

CK Cats and Kittens

V Victor Makes a T. V.

TB Ten Little Bears

R Riddles

A. Past Tense

Story and Page number	SE form	BE form
LT 3, 6, 9; V11; TB 22	CAME	COME
V10, TB23, 24	SAID	SAY
LT5 (2x); 8 (2x); 11 (2x); LP18	LOOKED	LOOK
RW4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11	LIKED	LIKE
LP7	LINED up	LINE up
LP 15	COUNTED	COUNT
V1; TB3	WANTED	WANT
V5, 6, 7	PAINTED	PAINT
V10	CALLED	CALL
V12	TURNED	TURN
TB 13	GRABBED	GRAB

B. Third Person Singular Verb Suffix

HF 2 (2x), 3, 4 (2x), 5, 6 (2x) 7, 8 (2x) 9, 10 (2x), 11, 12 (2x) 13, 14 (2x), 15, 16, 18, 20, 22 R 15, 19, 21, 23	HAS	HAVE

CK10	STANDS	STAND
V title	MAKES	MAKE
R5	GOES	GO
R5, 17	COMES	COME
R19	FLIES	FLY

C. Possessive Suffix

LT title, 5, 18, 16 (2x)	LION'S tail	LION tail
RW title	RUDY'S New Red Wagon	Rudy. . .Wagon

D. Noun Plural Suffix

HF 8 (2x), 9, 18, 20, 22	ARMS	ARM
HF10 (2x), 11, 16 (2x), 18, 22	HANDS	HAND
HF 12 (2x), 13, 20, 22; R21, 23	LEGS	LEG
RW5	TOYS	TOY
LP12	SHOES	SHOE
LP 19	BOYS	BOY
CK title, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12 16 (2x)	CATS	CAT
CK3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 13, 16	KITTENS	KITTEN
CK 10	TAILS	TAIL
V3, 4	NAILS	NAIL
V2, 8, 9	ROLLERS	ROLLER
V5	ANIMALS	ANIMAL
TB title, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 22, 24	BEARS	BEAR
18	JETS	JET
20	TRUCKS	TRUCK
R title	RIDDLES	RIDDLE

R7	SUSPENDERS	SUSPENDER
R23	HEADS	HEAD
R8	PANTS	PANT
R18	STEPS	STEP
R19	WHEELS	WHEEL
R20	FLIES	FLY
HF14 (2x), 22	FEET	FEETS
HF 23	PEOPLE	PEOPLES

E. Contractions

LT4, 7, 10; V12	I'LL	I
LP title, 6, 14; TB 23, 24	LET'S	LES
LP22, 26, 28	YOU'RE	YOU
LP32	WE'RE	WE

F. Pronouns

LT15	YOUR	YOU
CK7, 10 (2x); R8, 12	THEIR	THEY
LT2, RW13 (2x), R13, LP 12	HIS	HE

G. Prefix Deletion

LT3, 6, 9	ALONG	'LONG
LT 20	AGAIN	'GAIN

H. Indefinite Article

R6	AN umbrella	A umbrella
R15	AN eye	A eye
LP 32	An animal	A animal

I., J., K.,

There are no obvious conflicts in the text between BE and SE forms for expletives, verb idioms, or prepositions.

L. Conjunctions

R5	What goes up WHEN the rain comes down?	What goes up TIME the rain comes down?

III. Scott Foresman Syntax

These examples are also from the Level II book.

A. Verbs

1. Invariant 'be'

No conflicting occurrences

2. Copula Deletion

Story and Page number	SE form	BE form
LT3, 6, 9	Whay ARE you sad?	Why you sad?
LP 21	Peggy'S not back.	Peggy not back.
LP 22, 26, 28	You'RE it a rabbit a horse	You it a rabbit a horse
LP32	We'RE a tree	We a tree
R14	That IS the end. . .	That the end. . .

B. Multiple Negation

LP12	Neal DIDN'T have dirt in his shoes	Neal DIDN'T (DINT) have NO dirt. . .

C. Questions

1. Direct

LT3, 6, 9	Why ARE you sad?	Why you sad?
LP31	What animal ARE you?	What animal you?
CK16	What DO cats and kittens do?	What cats and kittens do?
R3	Why DID the chicken cross the road?	Why the chicken cross the road?
R7	Why DO firemen. . .?	Why firemen. ...?
R11	Why DO goats. . .?	Why goats. . . ?
R13	What DID the pig yell?	What the pig yell?

2. Indirect

LP24	Guess what animal I AM	Guess what animal AM I.
LP 27, 29	Guess what animal WE ARE.	Guess what animal ARE WE

D., E., F. Embedded imperative, pleonastic pronouns, and relative clauses are not used.

Scott Foresman Summary

In light of the hypothesis that the ability to identify sound-symbol relationships and produce exact phonetic forms is not the most signficant skill needed in learning to read, the Scott Foresman series presents the best of the three methods analyzed in its approach to reading instruction. Its methodology

makes use of all the various cues for reading. The importance of comprehension as the aim of all reading instruction is emphasized. In fact, it is emphasized so much that the phoneme-grapheme identification cues, which can be a worthwhile aid in helping the child organize and apply the knowledge he is attaining, are overly disregarded.

This may be the most equitable situation as far as the black child is concerned, however. He is not locked into producing SE pronunciation in order to participate in classroom exercises. He is not put at a disadvantage by the phonological system of his dialect, since neither white nor black children are expected to depend heavily on phonetic cues. Yet all children could probably benefit from systematic presentation of those sound-symbol correspondences which are universal to both dialects, such as word initial consonants.

The notion of identifying words through a "consonant framework" is not desirable, since it utilizes the word final consonants for word identification and it is these word-final consonants which comprise one of the major phonetic differences between BE and SE. The "consonant framework" method is not stressed however. It is only suggested when the child fails to identify the word properly through other cues.

The first two books of the Scott Foresman series are good for use with black children in the area of syntax, because there are relatively few syntactic patterns for which BE speakers might have variations. A major improve ment could be made in the morphology, however. Forms which may be different for BE are used in abundance. These include not only purely phonetic differences (noun plurals, pronouns, prefix deletion, indefinite article, and conjunctions), but also situations in which grammatical differences are involved (past tense suffix, third person singular verb suffix, possessive suffix, and contractions).

Yet, to be realistic, we must remember that it is probably impossible to eliminate from a text all usages in which there are potential differences between SE and BE, and still come up with a dialogue that makes sense. Although there is much room for improvement, the Scott Foresman program appears to be the most adequate of the three analyzed for use in teaching black children to read. Its merit rests more on the method advocated (which allows the child considerable freedom to utilize his own linguistic knowledge) than in the materials themselves.

Chapter IV

CONCLUSIONS

The most significant classroom variable relating to the success of black children in learning to read is the teacher. (This excludes social and cultural factors outside the classroom, which cannot be influenced by linguistic considerations, and are beyond the scope of this paper.) "Regardless of the approach, no single method of teaching has proved effective for all pupils, for use by all teachers, and for all purposes.

Perhaps the most significant single factor in the school is the teacher. Teaching is an art that has not yet been analyzed by skills, but some teachers are certainly far more successful than others in the face of conditions which are or are not otherwise ideal." (Gates, 1953, page 7)

The International Reading Association's report (1969) concludes: "Future research might well center on teacher and learning situation characteristics rather than method and materials...To improve reading instruction it is necessary to train better teachers of reading rather than to expect a panacea in the form of materials." (In Harris, page 1)

The teacher's attitude towards the child's language is especially critical. The language the child brings to school "embodies the cultural values and structures the way in which he may perceive his world and communicate his reactions to others." Rejection "endangers the means which he depends on for communication." (Goodman, 1965, page 854)

Wardaugh (1968) comments "there are several reports in the literature of children reading standard written forms in non-standard spoken forms only to be told that the readings are 'incorrect' by the teachers. In each instance the

child understood what was on the page, understood it in fact so well that he gave the printed words the 'correct' phonetic realizations in his own dialect and in each case the teacher revealed her confusion between teaching the child to read and teaching him to speak a different dialect. Likewise, the problem of teaching a child to say "with" not "wif" or to distinguish "den" and "then" is in most cases a dialect problem and not a reading problem. . .Again a little linguistic knowledge can go a long way in helping teachers to arrive at sensible attitudes and procedures in teaching spoken and written English to such children. (Ibid. page 440)

Labov (1972, page 35) remarks, "If the teacher has no understanding of the child's grammar and set of homonyms, she may be arguing with him at cross purposes. Over and over again, the teacher may insist that "cold" and "coal" are different, without realizing that the child perceives this as only a difference in meaning, not in sound. She will not be able to understand why he makes so many odd mistakes in reading, and he will experience only a vague confusion, somehow connected with the ends of words. Eventually, he may stop trying to analyze the shapes of letters that follow the vowel and guess wildly at each word after he deciphers the first few letters. Or he may lose confidence in the alphabetic principle as a whole."

A second conclusion reached by the International Reading Association emphasizes the importance of this point: "The effect of teacher criticism of pupils has been found to vary with the type of criticism. Mild criticism is not related to poor achievement. On the other hand, strong criticism has significant negative relationships with achievement. To put it differently, teachers should not hesitate to tell a pupil that he made a mistake, to correct him, or

to give him direction But use of shaming, sarcasm and other forms of strong criticism is harmful to learning." (In Harris, page 3)

Regardless of the methods used, therefore, teachers should be well-trained and sensitive to the special needs and problems of the black child.

Reading instruction for speakers of the black dialect may be approached in three ways: 1) teach SE orally first, 2) use reading materials written in the BE dialect, or 3) use SE materials, but let the child read them aloud in this own dialect.

1. Teach SE orally

Reading programs which depend heavily on the child's prior knowledge of language usually expect the black child to learn SE before he is taught to read. Bereiter and Englemann (1966) advocate such an approach. They support the extreme position of "verbal deprivation": the teacher should treat children coming from communities where non-standard speech patterns are used as if they have no prior knowledge of English. Unfortunately, it is the best programs—those which focus on the child's ability to comprehend the written text rather than merely his identification of letter-sound relationships—which most often fall into this trap. Both SRA and Scott Foresman materials follow along this line of thought. They suggest that the child's oral skills should be developed before he is taught to read. If SE must be first taught orally, however, reading instruction for black children will have to begin later than for their white schoolmates, thus forcing them to lag behind from the beginning. Such a situation requires segregated classes. Educators should strive to remove education from the influence of politics. Sledd (1969) comments on teaching SE to black children: "The immorality of that effort is the chief reason why enforced bi-dialectalism should not be tolerated even if it were possible.

Predators can and do use dialect differences to exploit and oppress, because ordinary people can be made to doubt their own value and to accept subservience if they can be made to despise the speech of their fathers. Obligatory bi-dialectalism for minorities is only another mode of exploitation, another way of making blacks behave as whites would like them to. It is unnecessary for communication, since the ability to understand other dialects is easily attained, as the black child shows when she translates her teacher's prissy white model 'his hat' into 'he hat.' Its psychological consequences are likely to be nervous affectation, self-distruct, dislike for everyone not equally afflicted with the itch to get ahead, and eventual frustration by the discovery that the reward for so much suffering is intolerably small." (page 273)

2. BE reading materials

The main value of using reading instruction materials in the child's own dialect is that instruction of reading skills can be entirely separated from language instruction, thus ameliorating one of the black child's disadvantages. Using special dialectal materials, he doesn't have the double duty of translating and decoding. He learns first how to read using all the cues of his own familiar dialect. Later he transfers this knowledge to new tasks, applying the skills which he has already mastered to the reading of SE materials. Such an approach has been found to be successful in projects carried out with Maori children (Ashton-Warner, 1963) and with Indian children in Chiapos, Mexico and native speakers of Pitean in Sweden. (See Dale, 1972 page 256 for a brief summary.) The question arises as to how the black dialect can be best represented: should BE phonetic forms be precisely notated in the orthography, or is it adequate to use the syntactical patterns of BE with SE orthography?

Chomsky (1964) claims that conventional spelling is by and large a highly effective system for a wide range of dialects because it corresponds to a common underlying phonological representation relatively invariant among dialects despite wide phonetic divergences. If the underlying representations are the same, SE orthography is probably a help rather than a hindrance. A black child who pronounces "pin" the same as "pen" understands the difference in meaning between these two homonyms. The spelling distinction should help him differentiate these words, as it helps the white child who must realize the difference between "sun" and "son." The issue is not so clear-cut in other cases, especially where the difference in phonetic forms coincides with a grammatical process. Evidence suggests that the third person present singular verb suffix /-z/ is entirely absent in the BE grammatical system. (For further discussion of this question, see Labov, 1972, page 32ff., Wolfram, 1969, page 135ff., and Wolfram, 1970.) If this is true, the presence of the /-z/ suffix in the orthography will not provide any functional cues for the black child. Until he learns its significance, it may even confuse him.

Perhaps an optimal BE orthography is one that differs from SE only at those points where the underlying forms are not the same. But the underlying representations are not easily determined, and they may vary even within the black community. Where SE has word-final clusters ending in a stop, this stop frequently is not phonetically realized for most BE speakers. It is presumably present in the underlying representation, and is realized in participial forms ("test" = [tEs], but "testing" = [tEstɨn]). Yet there is no motivation for postulating a final stop in the underlying representation for a few BE speakers, for whom the stop is absent in the plural and participial forms as well as the substantive: ([tEs], [tEsɨn]). Stewart in Baratz and Shuy (1969) suggests that, rather than developing a special orthography for BE, conventional English orthography should be used with one modification.

Apostrophes would indicate prefixes which are absent in BE (about = 'bout, because = 'cause), since black speakers are not always aware that a prefix is "missing" in their form. Wolfram in Baratz and Shuy (1969) suggests using conventional English orthography with vocabulary presented in a structured order. "At this first stage, reading passages would be controlled so as to include only words whose abstract and surface representations and conventional spellings are largely the same . . . At this stage the reader learns the principles of sound-symbol association." (page 85) Later, words can be introduced for which the conventional spelling matches the phonetics in SE pronunciations, but not for BE pronunciations. In the final stages, words can be used which are not in accordance with phoneme-grapheme correspondences for either dialect.

Baratz in Baratz and Shuy (1969) and Stewart (op. cit.) point out the importance of developing texts using BE syntax. Early materials might be written in pure dialect form. During the transitional stages, those areas which have been found through linguistic research to cause the greatest interference in comprehension would be explained first, and finally the less important discrepancies would be pointed out. An example of a dialectal text that has been developed is the Psycholinguistic Reading Series (1968). This program consists of a set of parallel readers which the child can compare. The "Everyday Talk" readers utilize non-standard patterns of verb usage; the "School Talk" readers correspond to the standard dialect.

Using materials written in BE syntax patterns seems to be the most sound approach theoretically, but it is not entirely practical. There is a wide range of variety within the dialect itself, depending on such factors as socio-economic status, age, sex, and geography. It doesn't solve anything to lump all these children together. Those who speak a version of BE which is only slightly

divergent from SE would have difficulty understanding a "basilect" (highly divergent form of the dialect.) To develop a number of different texts is costly and time-consuming. Again, the problem of politics enters the picture. The use of dialectal readers forces segregation of classes. Many parents are not satisfied unless all children receive exactly the same treatment.

Ideally, it is probably best to have linguistically trained teachers use the experience-story method in which the child learns to read stories he composes himself. This hypothesis is supported by evidence from the CRAFT project, U.S. Office of Education. The teacher can write the stories down in SE orthography, while allowing the child freedom to use his own syntax and pronunciation. She needs to detect the difference between immature language and dialect divergences: i.e., if the child says, "We seen Wendy's duckses. We helded them.", she should correct "duckses" to "ducks" or "ducklings", and "helded" to "held", but not correct "seen."

3. SE materials read in child's dialect:

Another approach receiving wide-spread support is that of teaching the children to read SE books using the pronunciation of their own dialect. This is the most practical solution at the present time, and research so far supports its plausibility. If the children must mentally translate SE into BE before they can read, they will have a hard time. But if the underlying representations are nearly identical in BE and SE, as appears to be true, such an approach is feasible.

Because the language patterns used in most basal readers available on the market conflict rather frequently with the black child's dialect, he is not able to exploit all the potential cues for comprehension that exist in the surface structure of his language. Increased linguistic inquiry has expanded our knowledge of what these structures are. As new texts are written, the use of those

structures which present the greatest difficulties can be minimized, especially at the most elementary levels. With a little consideration given to these principles, along with proper training for all teachers, some of the inequities of the present educational system can be diminished. Educators should capitalize on the universals of language to help children "understand that all languages are rooted in certain basic common experiences and that reading and writing, like speech, are useful tools for communicating these experiences." (Athey, 1971, page 101)

Ideally, I would advocate the experience-story method of reading instruction, taught by sensitive and linguistically-trained teachers. But considering the limits of time and money, we must realize that in most classrooms a structured reading program is the most practical approach. The Scott Foresman method is the most adequate of the three series analyzed for teaching reading to children who speak the black dialect. Although the materials should be improved upon, especially in the area of morphology, they present the black child with fewer areas of potential confusion than i/t/a or SRA. Even more important, this method encourages the child to utilize much of his own linguistic knowledge. This system is also the most flexible of the three, and can most easily allow for incorporating any new information regarding BE and reading instruction.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Reading Series Analyzed in This Paper

Mazurkiewicz, Albert J., and Tanyzer, Harold J., Early-To-Read i/t/a Program, i/t/a Publications, Inc., N. Y., 1963.

Rasmussen, Donald, and Goldberg, Lynn. SRA Basic Reading Series, Science Research Associates, Inc., Chicago, Ill.

Scott Foresman Reading Systems, Scott, Foresman and Company, Glenview, Ill., 1971.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Abrahams, Roger D., and Troike, Rudolph C., Eds., Language and Cultural Diversity in American Education, Prentice-Hall, 1972.

Alatis, James E., ed., Linguistics and Language Study, Georgetown University Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, 20th Annual Round Table, Washington D. C., 1969.

Anderson, Edmund A., "A Grammatical Overview of Baltimore Nonstandard Negro English," Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, May, 1970.

Ashton-Warner, Sylvia, Teacher, N. Y., Simon and Schuster, 1963.

Athey, Irene, "Language Models and Reading," Reading Research Quarterly, 7:1, pages 17-110, 1971.

Aurbach, Joseph, A Phonemic and Phonetic Description of the Speech of Selected Negro Informants of South-Central Los Angeles, Speech Community Research Lab, Inc., Santa Barbara, California, March, 1971.

Bailey, Beryl, "Toward a New Perspective in Negro English Dialectology" Florida FL Reporter, Vol. 8, #1, and 2.

_____, "Some Arguments versus the Use of Dialect Readers" (Ibid.)

Baratz, Joan C., and Povich, Edna, "Grammatical Constructions in the Language of the Negro Pre-school Child," Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington D. C., 1968.

Baratz, Joan C. and Roger W. Shuy, Teaching Black Children to Read, Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.,C., 1969.

Bereiter, Carl and Englemann, Seigfreid, Teaching disadvantaged children in the preschool, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1966. .

Bormuth John R., "Relationships between Selected Language Variables and Comprehension Ability and Difficulty," U. S. Office of Education, Cooperative Research Report No. 2082, 1964.

Bormuth, John R., "Readability: A New Approach" Reading Research Quarterly, 1966, pages 79-132.

Chall, Jeanne, Learning to Read: The Great Debate, McGraw-Hill, N. Y., 1967.

Chomsky, Carol, "Reading, Writing, and Phonology," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 40, No. 2, May 1970.

Chomsky, N. "Comments for the project literacy meeting." Project Literacy Report, Vol. 2, 1964, pages 1-9.

"Comparing Reading Approaches in First Grade Teaching." (CRAFT Project) U. S. Office of Education, City University of N. Y., and the Board of Education of the City of N. Y.

Dale, Philip S., Language Development, Dryden Press, Inc., Hinsdale, Ill., 1970.

Dillard, J. L., Black English, Random House, N. Y., 1972.

Fasold, Ralph W. and Wolfram, Walter. "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect," unpublished paper.

Gates, Arthur I., "What Research Says to the Teacher," No. 1, Department of Classroom Teachers and American Educational Research, National Education Association, Washington. 1953.

Gibson, Eleanor J., Anne Pick, Harry Osser, and Marcia Hammond, "The Role of Grapheme-Phoneme Correspondence in the Perception of Words," in The American Journal of Psychology, Vol. LXXV, Dec. 1962, page 554.

Goodman, Kenneth. "Dialect Barriers to Reading Comprehension," Elementary English, 1965, page 853.

_____, "Linguistics of Reading," Elementary School Journal, LXIV, April 1964.

_____, "Reading, A Psycholinguistic Guessing Game", in Singer and Ruddell, Theoretical Models and Processes of Reading, Newark, Delaware, International Reading Association.

Harris, Albert J., "The Effective Teacher of Reading," paper presented at the 14th Annual Convention of the International Reading Association, Kansas City, Missouri, May 1, 1969.

Hatch, Evelyn, "The Syntax of Four Reading Programs Compared With Language Development of Children," Southwest Regional Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, Inglewood, California, 1971.

King, Harold V., "On Blocking the Rules for Contraction in English," Linguistic Inquiry, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1970, page 134.

Jones, Virginia, Decoding and Learning to Read, Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, Portland, Oregon, 1970.

Labov, William, The Study of Language in its Social Context, Columbia University, N. Y. 1970.

_____, Language in the Inner City, University of Pennsylvania Press, Pennsylvania, 1972.

Lee, Jeanne Elizabeth Cox, An assessment of reading in a foreign language, Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, 1972. (Unpublished)

Lefevre, C. A., Linguistics and the Teaching of Reading, N. Y., McGraw-Hill 1969.

Levin, H. and Joanna Williams (eds.), Basic Studies n Reading, N. Y., Harper Row, 1969.

MacDonald, J. W., "Review of Sir James Pitman and Jon St. Jon, Alphabets and Reading", Harvard Educational Review, 1970, Vol. 40, pages 317-325.
and Warburton, F. W. and Southgate, V. i.t.a.: An independent evaluation.

Melmed, Paul, Black English Phonology: The Question of Reading Interference, U. C. Language-Behavior Research Laboratory, Berkeley, California, 1971.

Nurss, Joan R., Children's Reading - Syntactic Structure and Comprehension Difficulty, Columbia University, N. Y., Teachers College.

O'Donnell, Roy, "A Study of the Correlation Between Awareness of Structural Relationships in English and Ability in Reading Comprehension." Journal of Experimental Education, 31:3, March 1963, pages 313-316.

Robinson, Helen,, "Factors Which Affect Success in Reading," Elementary School Journal, January 1955, pages 263-269.

Serwer, Blanche L., "Linguistic Support for a Method of Teaching Beginning Reading to Black Children," Reading Research Quarterly, Summer 1969, page 449.

Ruddell, Robert B., "The Effect of the Similarity of Oral and Written Patterns on Comprehension," Elementary English, 1964, 42, pages 402-410.

_____ , "Reading Instruction in the First Grade With Varying Emphasis on the Regularity of Grapheme-Phoneme-Correspondences and the Relation of Language Structure to Meaning," The Reading Teacher, 19, May 1966, pages 643-660.

The Psycholinguistics Reading Series, Board of Education, City of Chicago, 1968.

Shuy, Roger W. (ed.), Soci Dialects and Language Learning, Champaign, Ill,, 1964.

Sledd, James. "Bi-dialectalism: The Linguistics of White Supremacy," English Journal, 58 (Dec. 1969) pages 261-274.

Smith, E. Brooks, Goodman, Kenneth and Meredith, Robert, Language and Thinking in the Elementary School, N. Y., Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1970.

Smith, Frank, Understanding Reading, Holt, Kinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971.

Stewart, William A., "Continuity and Change in American Negro Dialects," Florida FL Reporter, Spring, 1968.

Strickland, Ruth, "Contributions of Linguistics in the Teaching of Reading, Spelling and Grammar," The Instructor LXV, March 1966.

_____, "The Language of Elementary School Children: Its Relationship to the Language of Reading Textbooks and the Quality of Reading of Selected Children," Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University, July 1962, 30, pages 1-131.

Tarone, Elaine. Aspects of Intonation in Vernacular White and Black English Speech. Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, 1972. (Also published in ERIC Documents.)

Troike, Rudolph. "Social Dialects and Language Learning: Implications for TESOL." TESOL Quarterly, September, 1968.

Wardaugh, Ronald. "Linguistics-reading dialogue", The Reading Teacher, 1968, 21. page 432.

Weber, Rose-Marie, "Grammaticality and the self-correction of reading errors," Project Literacy Reports, 1967, 8, pages 53-59.

Wiener, Morton and Cromer, Ward. "Reading and Reading Difficulty: A Conceptual Analysis," Harvard Educational Review, 1967. 37(4) pages 620-643.

Wolfram, Walter A. "Social Dialects from a Linguistic Perspective: Assumptions Current Research, and Future Directions," Educational Resources Information Center, Washington D. C., 1969.

_____, A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech, Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington D. C., 1969.

_____, "Underlying Representations in Be Phonology," Center for Applied Linguistics, January, 1970. (to appear in Language Sciences)

_____, "Some Illustrative Features of Black English," Center for Applied Linguistics, Workshop in Language Differences, Coral Gables, Florida, February, 1970.